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# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

*Ex Libris*
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This History of the Empire of Japan, comprising an eptiome of salient facts from early ages down to the present time, was compiled under the direction of the Department of Education, at the request of the Imperial Japanese Commission, and is intended for the use of visitors to the Japanese Section of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, U.S.A., 1893.

The work contains Nine Chapters, which were compiled by TAKATSU KUWASABURO, *Bungakushi;* MIKAMI SANJI, *Bungakushi;* and ISODA MASARU, *Bungakushi;* the whole having been revised by SHIGENO YASUYORI, *Bungakuhakushi,* and HOSHINO HISASHI, *Bungakuhakushi,* members of the Committee of Historiographical Compilation in the Imperial University; and translated into English by Captain BRINKLEY (late Royal Artillery), Editor of the *Japan Mail.*

# PREFACE.

In ancient times Japan possessed no literary script. All events had to be transmitted from generation to generation by oral tradition. The use of writing was imported from China, but it is not possible to determine exactly at what period the event took place. Japanese investigators are disposed to think that it occurred five or six hundred years after the Emperor Jimmu, which would bring it to the reign of the Emperor Kaika, or the Emperor Sujin, a period one or two hundred years prior to the Christian era. Investigations refer it to the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, but the general use of letters for the purpose of recording events dates from the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Richiu, a period corresponding to the year 403 A.D. approximately, and the compilation of national annals began in the reign of the Emperor Suiko (620 A.D.). But such historical records as were then compiled, suffered almost total destruction a short time afterwards by fire, and do not seem to have exercised any appreciable influence upon subsequent annals. Our reliance for information about the history of antiquity has to be placed upon the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*, the former of which was compiled in the fourth year of the Wadō era of the Emperor Gemmyo (711 A.D.), the second

1059630

in the fourth year of the *Yōrō* era of the Emperor Gensho (720 A.D.). These works, therefore, carry us back to a period some thirteen hundred years after the Emperor Jimmu. But though the events of early days were thus committed to writing and transmitted by various authors to posterity, there were grounds for suspecting that the oral records of remote antiquity had been disfigured by omissions, errors, and confusion of facts. Regretting this, and perceiving that unless steps were then taken to correct the annals, subsequent generations would be without any trustworthy record of remote events, the Emperor Tenmu ordered an eminent scholar, Hieda-no-Are, to prepare a chronology of sovereigns and a digest of the events of the successive dynasties. Unfortunately the death of the Emperor interrupted this work. Twenty years later, in the fourth year of the Wadō era (711 A.D.), the Empress Gemmyo instructed Futo-no-Yasumaro to complete the compilation of Hieda-no-Are's annals. The work thus completed is the *Kojiki* as we now possess it. This compilation must be regarded as the most trustworthy record extant of the events of ancient times. Eight years after the appearance of the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon Shoki* was compiled. We find, on comparing these works, that although, on the whole, they agree, discrepancies exist as to the titles of the "celestial" and terrestrial rulers *(kami)*, and the order of their succession. Further, judging from the fact that frequent reference is made in the *Nihon Shoki* to statements of unnamed writers, it would appear that the divergent records transmitted by various authors were embodied in the work, which records had unquestionably been handed down by oral tradition.

The above two works are the chief sources of material

for constructing the annals of ancient Japan. No resource offers but to rely upon their contents. If curious supernatural incidents figure in their pages, we have to remember that literature being then in its infancy and a long interval having elapsed since the era of many of the events recorded, the annalists were not yet skilled in the selection of matter qualified to find a place in authentic history, while, at the same time, in the oral traditions on which they depended, errors had doubtless been included, and, ordinary events drifting out of sight, extraordinary and supernatural had alone survived.

Without the use of almanacks it is impossible to have trustworthy chronologies. Almanacks first came into use in Japan in the 12th year of the Empress Suiko's reign (604 A.D.). Previously to that time, the Chinese calendar had been imported in the early part of the reign of the Emperor Kimmei (540–571 A.D.). The compilation of annals, as already stated, had preceded that event by a considerable interval, having been inaugurated in the reign of the Emperor Richiu. We may therefore conjecture that some method of reckoning months and years had been practised from an early era, but no certain knowledge of this matter is available. In the *Nihon Shoki* the years and months from the time of the Emperor Jimmu are recorded, but such is not the case in the *Kojiki*.

In Japan from ancient time chronology was not based on an era. Year periods were used. Originally the method pursued was to speak of such and such a year after the coronation of an Emperor. But from the early part of the reign of the Emperor Kōtoku (645–654 A.D.), the Chinese fashion coming into vogue, year periods were employed.

The name of a year period was altered, as a matter of course, with each-dynasty; but it was also habitually changed on the recurrence of a cyclical year of ill-omened designation, as well as on occasions of inundation, pestilence, rebellion, or exceptional good fortune. There are instances of several changes of designation within the reign of one Emperor. To quote extreme cases, five such changes occurred during the seven years' reign of the Emperor Nijō and six during the ten years' reign of the Emperor Shijō. It results, of course, that a troublesome effort is required to commit to memory the sequence and dates of the various year periods. The Chinese, in the reign of the Ming Sovereign Taitsu, decided that there should be no change in the designation of a year period throughout the reign of a Sovereign. A similar ruling was made on the accession of the present Emperor of Japan, from which time also the era of Jimmu began to be used as a chronological basis.

In the following pages the administrative and political events from the founding of the empire will be divided into three great series, or periods.

The First Period, commencing with the birth of imperialism, covers the ages during which the Sovereign and the Administratian were one. Speaking accurately, however, this period includes not only eras when administratrative orders actually emanated from the Emperor, but also eras during which powerful families, like those of Ōomi and Ōmuraji, controlled administrative affairs; eras when the reins of state were restored to the Sovereign, and eras when they passed into the hand of regents and prime ministers; eras when the administrative authority was exer-

cised by the Throne, and eras when it was exercised by military nobles. But these minor distinctions are merged in the fact that throughout the period the power of Imperialism was paramount and the mandates of the Sovereign were effective in all parts of the realm.

The Second Period is that during which the administrative power was wielded by military nobles; in other words, the period of military autocracy. This period commences with the time when the Minamoto chieftain, Yoritomo, established a Shogunate at Kamakura, and concludes with the time when, Tokugawa having restored the administration to the Sovereign, the Edo Shogunate came to an end. During this period, the families controlling admihistrative affairs underwent many vicissitudes and the possession of the Shogunate often changed, but the general character of the national polity was feudal, and the repositories of administrative power were all military nobles. Hence the whole series of events here included in one period.

The Third Period is the modern era of *Meiji*. It is the period when administrative power has reverted to the Emperor; when the Constitution has been promulgated; when the Diet has been opened; when representative institutions have wholly replaced autocratic; when the ancient aspect of all things has been metamorphosed. Therefore it is here regarded as the Third Period.

In the Occident, it is customary to divide the period of a nation's history into ancient, mediæval, and modern. This method has of late begun to come into vogue in Japan also. It is doubtless a suitable method in the case of

other countries. But in Japan the salient incidents of history do not lend themselves to the adoption of such a system of division. Therefore it is not followed in the compilation of these annals.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.


PAGE.

Preface... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1—16

National Polity—Emperor and People ... ... ... ... 16—19

CHAPTER I.

History of Remote Antiquity.—Izanagi-no-Mikoto (Deity) and Izanami-no-Mikoto (Deess). Amaterasu-Ōmikami (Deess) and Susanoo-no-Mikoto (Deity).—Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto, and the establishment of the Seat of Government in Hyuga ... ... ... ... ... 19—23

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.

From the Emperor Jimmu to the Taikwa Reformation.—The Emperor Jimmu's Invasion of the Eastern Provinces ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 23—25

SECTION II.

Administration and Condition of the Nation in the eary Era ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 26—31

SECTION III.

Administrative Records ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 31—38

SECTION IV.

Communication with Foreign Countries.—Conquest of Korea... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 38—42

SECTION V.

The Introduction of Chinese Literature ... ... ... .. 42—45

SECTION VI.

Introduction and spread of Buddhism ... ... ... ... 46—50

SECTION VII.

Development of Administration by Hereditary Officials. 50—52

SECTION VIII.

Ascendency of the Nobles... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 52—55

SECTION IX.

Influence of Chinese and Korean Civilization on Japan. 55—60

SECTION X.

Progress of Industries and Arts ... ... ... ... ... 60—63

SECTION XI.

Development of Agriculture and Commerce ... ... ... 63—64

SECTION XII.

Manners and Customs of the Age ... ... ... ... ... 64—68

## CHAPTER III.

### From the Taikwa Reformation to the Heian Era.

SECTION I.

The Taikwa Reformation ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 68—77

SECTION II.

Enlargement and Reduction of the Dominions of Japan. (Subjugation of the Ezo Aborigines and abandonment of Korea.) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 77—82

SECTION III.

Troubles in connection with the Imperial Succession ... 82—85

SECTION. IV.

The compilation and promulgation of the Code of Laws called the Taihōryō... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 85—91

SECTION V.

The Prosperity of the Nara Epoch.—The Spread of Buddhism.—The Progress of Art and Industry.—Learning.—Literature ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 91—102

SECTION VI.

Transfer of the Capital to Kyōto.—Creation of New Offices.—Progress of Buddhism.—Learning ... ... 102—115

SECTION VII.

Administration of the Fujiwara Family.—Rise of Sugawara Michizane to power.—Arbitrary exercise of Power by the Fujiwara ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 115—123

SECSION VIII.

The Condition of the Upper Classes.—The development of Poetical and Prose Composition ... ... ... ... 123—132

SECTION IX.

Local Government System.—Private Ownership of fixed Property.—The Four Great Clans; Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana.—Military Institutions.—The Tenkei Rebellion ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 133—140

SECTION X.

Interference of abdicated Emperors in State Affairs ... 140—146

SECTION XI.

The Hōgen and Heiji Insurrections.—The Rise and Fall of the Taira Family ... ... ... ... ... ... 146—158

SECTION XII.

Agriculture.—Commerce.—Industry ... ... ... ... 158—163

CHAPTER IV.

The Kamakura Era.

SECTION I.

The Minamoto (Gen) Family ... ... ... ... ... ... 164—168

SECTION II.

Organization of the Shōgun's Government (Bakufu) ... 168—173

SECTION III.

The Shōkiu War ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 173—177

SECTION IV.

The Hōjō Family... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 177—181

SECTION V.

Legislation of the Shogunate ... ... ... ... ... ... 181—183

SECTION VI.

The Chinese Invasion ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 183—186

SECTION VII.

Customs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 186—192

SECTION VIII.

Literature ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 192—195

SECTION IX.

New Sects of Buddhism ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 195—199

SECTION X.

Agriculture ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 199

SECTION XI.

Industry and Arts ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 199—203

SECTION XII.

Trade and Commerce ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 203—205

CHAPTER V.

SECTION I.

Emperors reigning alternately ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 206—209

SECTION II.

The Genkō War ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 209—214

SECTION III.

The Northern and Southern Dynasties ... ... ... ... 214—223

CHAPTER VI.

The Muromachi Epoch.

SECTION I.

The Administration of the Ashikaga Family ... ... ... 223—236

SECTION II.

Foreign Intercourse ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 237—244

SECTION III.

Literature of the Ashikaga Dynasty ... ... ... ... 244—249

SECTION IV.

Industry and Fine Arts ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 249—254

SECTION V.

Autonomy of Territorial Nobles ... ... ... ... ... 254—262

CHAPTER VII.

Restoration of the Domestic Tranquillity.

SECTION I.

The Ota Family ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 263—270

SECTION II.

The Toyotomi Family ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 270—277

SECTION III.

The Invasion of Korea ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 277—286

## Chapter VIII.

### Administration of the Edo Shoguns.

SECTION I.

Establishment of the Shogun's Government ... ... ... 286—293

SECTION II.

Policy of the Shogunate.—Relations between the Shogunate and the Emperor and between the Shogunate and the other Nobles.—Organization of the Shogun's Government ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 293—303

SECTION III.

Foreign Intercourse and the Foreign Trade... ... ... 304—309

SECTION IV.

Insurrection of the Christian Converts.—The Question of Religion... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 309—315

SECTION V.

The Genroku Era (1688–1703 A.D.)—Literature.—Education.—Finance ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 315—323

SECTION VI.

Middle Period of the Shogunate.—The Kyōho Peace.—Industry.—Agriculture.—Criminal Law.—Military Equipment... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 323—332

SECTION VII.

The Kwansei Peace—The repose of the Military Classes.—Social Conditions.—Public Sentiments and Customs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 332—342

SECTION VIII.

Industry and Fine Arts ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 342—346

SECTION IX.

Latter Days of the Shogunate.—Visit of the American Fleet ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 346—353

SECTION X.

The closing Days of the Tokugowa Government.—The growth of the Imperial Spirit... ... ... ... ... ... 353—360

SECTION XI.

Closing Days of the Tokugawa Government (concluded).—Dissensions in Mito.—Expedition against Chōshū.—Imperial Sanction of Foreign Treaties.—Restoration of the Administration to the Emperor... ... ... 360—365

## Chapter IX.

### The Period of the Restoration of Administrative Power to the Sovereign and of the Introduction of Constitutional Government.

SECTION I.

Restoration of the Administration to the Emperor—Removal of the Capital from Kyōto to Tōkyō ... ... 365—373

SECTION II.

Abolition of Han and establishment of Ken ... ... ... 373—378

SECTION III.

Organization of the *Meiji* Administration ... ... ... 378—389

SECTION IV.

Domestic Disturbances ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 389—396

SECTION V.

Foreign Affairs ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 396—408

SECTION VI.

The Introduction of Western Civilization ... ... ... 408—410

SECTION VII.

Industries and Manufactures ... ... ... ... ... ... 410—416

SECTION VIII.

Trade and Commerce ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 416—419

SECTION IX.

Laws ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 419—424

SECTION X.

Learning and Religion ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 424—428




NOTE YEZO LOOCHOO ISLANDS AND KURILE ISLANDS ARE AT PRESENT CALLED HOKKAIDO OKINAWA AND CHISHIMA RESPECTIVELY

# HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

## INTRODUCTION.

### *GEOGRAPHY.*

The Empire of Japan consists of a group of islands marshalled in the north-west corner of the Pacific Ocean off the eastern coast of the Asiatic Continent. These islands lie between the parallels of 50° 56′ and 24° 6′ north latitude, and the longitudes of their extreme eastern and western points are 156° 32′ and 122° 45′, respectively, east of Greenwich. The Empire thus covers 26° 50′ of latitude and 33° 47′ of longitude. On the east, they face the Pacific Ocean; on the south-west, they look across the China Sea to the mainland of China; on the north-west, the Sea of Japan separates them from Korea and Manchuria. The Strait of Sōya (Strait de la Pérouse), lies between their most northerly part, Hokkaidō, and Karafuto in Russia, and the Kururi Strait (Kuriles Strait) divides the Chishima group of islands on the north from the Russian peninsula of Kamtschatka.

The whole group includes 40 islands and a number of islets. The large island lying in the centre constitutes the mainland; the island on the north of the latter is called Hokkaidō; that on the south, Kiushū (the Nine Provinces); that on the south-west of the mainland and the east of Kiushū, is Shikoku; and stretching in a northwesterly direction from Hokkaidō, we have the Kuriles. Like chains linking the mainland with the continents of Asia and North America, there extend, from the southern extremity of Kiushū and the centre of the mainland, respectively, two lines of islets called Riukiu (Loochoo) and Hichi-tō (the Seven Islands). Floating, as it were, in the Sea of Japan are the islets of Sado and Oki. Scattered in the Pacific Ocean, at a distance of 200 *ri* (488 English miles) from the south-west coast of the mainland, lies the Ogasawara group (Bonins). Between the mainland and Shikoku is the island of Awaji. On the north-west of Kiushū, in the channel that separates it from Korea, are the islands of Iki and Tsushima, the latter only 50 *ri* (122 English miles) from the port of Fusan in Korea; and to the west of Kiushū, in the route of ships travelling Chinawards, lies the Gotō group.

The area of the whole empire is 24,790 square *ri* (147,063 English square miles). More than half of this superficies is comprised in the main island, and next in magnitude come Hokkaidō, Kiushū, and Shikoku, in that order. The coast line stretches to a length of about 15,300 *ri* (37,332 English miles). Little indended, the coast along the Sea of Japan offers few bays or promontories; but the coasts washed by the Pacific Ocean and the China Sea are broken into innumerable capes and inlets, and abound in good harbours. No part of the inland being removed from the sea to a greater distances than 60 or 70

*ri* (146 to 170 English miles), the facilities for transport are very great.

The country is mountainous, and has comparatively little flat land. Two systems of mountain chains extend north and south and east and west, each having numerous branches. The highlands of the empire are two provinces, Shinano and Kai, in the centre of the main island. Fuji-san, capped with eternal snows, lies at the boundary of Suruga and Kai: the loftiest peak in the empire, its summit rises 12,300 feet above the sea level. Following it, in order of height, are the mountains of Mitake (10,700 ft.) and Akaishi (10,214 ft.), in Shinano province; and Shirane (10,212 ft.) and Komagatake (9,905 ft.) in Kai. Many other peaks of 8,000 ft. and upwards are to be found in the provinces of Kai, Shinano, Etchū, and Kaga.

The mountains of the main island are, for the most part, volcanic. Many of them are still in an active condition. The active volcanoes number 170, and the ranges comprising them stretch across the extent of the country. Mines and mineral springs consequently abound. They are to be found in about 388 places, independently of Hokkaidō. The most celebrated thermal springs are at Kusatsu and Ikaho in Kōzuke; at Hakone in Sagami; at Atami in Izu; at Arima in Settsu; at Shirosaki in Tajima, and at Dōgo in Iyo. Frequency of earthquakes results from this abundance of volcanoes. Minor shocks average from thirty or forty to several hundreds annually, and of severe shocks history shows that there have been some two or three in each century, entailing overthrow of dwellings, destruction of human and animal life, crumbling away of mountains and interchanges of seas and lands.

Owing of the insular and narrow form of the country, great rivers with long courses are few, but numerous streams of lesser magnitude traverse all parts of the empire, affording excellent facilities for drainage and irrigation. Among them many of the larger are navigable. The Ishikari River in Hokkaidō has a length of 167 *ri* (407 English miles), being the longest in the empire. Next in order comes the Shinano, in the main island, with a course of nearly 100 *ri* (244 English miles). Other conspicuous streams are the Kitagami, the Tone, the Ōi, the Tenriu, and the Kiso, with courses of 50 *ri* (122 English miles) and upwards, in the main island; to which may be added the Yoshino in Shikoku and the Chikugo in Kiushū, with courses of 30 *ri* (73 English miles) and upwards.

Owing to the mountainous character of the country, few plains of large area exist. Valleys lying deep in the bosoms of the hills, plateaux along the margins of the great rivers, gentle slopes at the feet of mountain ranges, or stretches by the sea shore, are the only comparatively level places to be seen. The Ishikari Moor, bordering the Ishikari River in Hokkaidō, is the most extensive of these. Its soil is rich, and it abounds in timber and verdure. Other well known plains in the north lie along the course of the Tokachi River and by the sea-shore at Kushiro and Nemuro. Passing to the main island, we find, in the north-easterly section, the Ōshū plateau, traversed by the Kitagami and Abukuma rivers, and extending over the provinces of Rikuchū, Rikuzen, Iwashiro, and Iwaki. There, too, the soil is rich, and cropped lands cover a wide area. In the central section, the valley of the Tone River forms the Hasshū plain of the Kwantō, spreading into the four provinces of

Musashi, Kōzuke, Hitachi, and Shimōsa. Thickly populated and highly fertile, this plain is the most extensive in the main island. Next in order of magnitude comes the valley of the Kiso River, forming a part of the provinces of Mino and Owari. This plain has conspicuously rich soil and constitutes one great cultivated field. The Echigo plain, along the lower waters of the Shinano River, is the most extensive of all the littoral plains of Japan. For the rest, very wide plains exist in Kinai, along the banks of the Yodo and Yamato Rivers; while in Shikoku, the most extensive flat-lands are found along the course of the Yoshino River, and in Kiushū the lands by the banks of the Chikugo down to the Ariyake sea-beach give to the provinces of Chikugo and Hizen a broad area of irrigated fields.

Lakes, great and small, are scattered all over the main island. The largest of them is Biwa Lake in Ōmi. It has a shore line of over 73 miles, and its waters are deep enough to be navigable, for the most part, by steamers. After Lake Biwa in order of magnitude come Kasumi-ga-ura in Hitachi province, Inawashiro in Iwashiro, Hachirōgata in Ugo, Naka-no-umi and Shishidi-ko in Izumo, Imbanuma in Shimōsa, and Towada-ko in Mutsu. All of these have circumferences of ten *ri* (24.4 English miles) and upwards. In Hokkaidō, Shikoku and Kiushū very few lakes are found.

The main island of Japan, being situated in the Temperate Zone, enjoys, for the most part, a medium degree of temperature. But since, owing to its elongated shape, the country extends over 26° 50′ of latitude, since two currents, a warm and a cold, flow past its shores, and since its surface offers wide differences of elevation and depression, the climate

is by no means uniform. Thus, in the northern part of Hokkaidō and in the Chishima Islands, the snow never disappears, the sea freezes in winter, and sleet and fogs prevail. On the other hand, in the southern district, as well as in the Riukiu and Ogasawara groups, the heat is very great, and neither snow nor ice is seen in winter. In the central parts, again, the temperature varies according to the elevation of the land, and according to the configuration of the mountains and seas.

With regard to ocean currents, there is one which, laving the southern part of the Riukiu Islands, flows from the south west to the north east. In cloudy weather the waters of this ocean river display a deep black colour. Hence it is called the Black Stream (*Kuro-shio*). Coming from the distant Equator, the Black Stream has an average temperature of 27 8′ Cent. in summer. Immediately after leaving the Equator it travels along the eastern coast of China, and thence passing northward, approaches the coast of Kiushū, where it bifurcates. The branch stream enters the Sea of Japan, and flows to the north; the principal stream passes by the southern coast of Shikoku and the main island, until it reaches the north of Cape Inubō in Shimōsa, where it again bifurcates, a branch turning northward, and the river itself travelling in an eastern and northern direction until it leaves the main island. In consequence, perhaps, of the heat received from this warm current, all the provinces of Kiushū, Shikoku, Sanyōdō and Tōkaidō have a warm climate, and snow seldom lies there. There is also a cold stream called the Oya-shio, of which the average summer temperature is as low as 2 8′ Cent. Its source is in the Sea of Ohkotsk, whence it passes through the Chishima Islands, and flowing by Hokkaidō

and the eastern coast of the main island's northerly section, reaches the neighbourhood of Cape Inubō and there disappears. Already situated in a high degree of latitude, Hokkaidō and the northern part of the main island, being further exposed to the influence of this cold stream, have a very cold climate. The snow lies there in masses for many days and the winter is very long.

The rain-fall is heavy in summer, and light in winter. It is greatest along the coasts washed by the Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Japan, and least in the central portions of the country, along the two coasts of the Inland Sea as well as in the Ō-u district. Hokkaidō has an average fall.

Rich soil, a genial climate, and a sufficient rain-fall produce luxuriant vegetation. Cultivated fields and gardens succeed each other through wide areas. Moreover, since the main island extends into the three Zones, it possesses corresponding varieties of vegetation. Thus in Kiushū and the provinces of Nankaidō (southern-sea highway region), thick, verdant forests are to be seen, abounding in giant trees. Sugar-canes, tobacco, and cotton find a soil congenial to their growth. The cocoa, the banyan tree, the banana and their congeners flourish in the Riukiu and Ogasawara Islands. In short, the general aspect is tropical. Passing thence to the central districts, great varieties of vegetation are found. The pine (*pinus densiflora* and *pinus massoniana*) the oak (*quercus dentata*), the *hi-no-ki* (*thuya obtusa*), the *sugi* (*cryptomeria japonica*), the camphor and the bamboo grow in the woods; while the mulberry, the tea plant, the lacquer tree, millet, the five cereals, vegetables, and various kinds of fruits are seen in the fields and gardens. Finally, even in Hokkaidō, though the cold is

great and the cultivated area limited, the soil is fruitful, the vegetation luxurious, and the district invites agriculture.

The varieties of animal life are not numerous. Of domestic animals we have the ox, the horse, the pig, the dog, and the cat; of wild animals, the hog, the deer, the hare, the fox, the badger, and the monkey. Ferocious beasts and noxious reptiles are limited to the bear of the northern districts and the *habu* (a kind of snake) of Riukiu. In the waters that lave the Hokkaidō coasts sea-otters and fur-seals abound; whales frequent the seas in the north and those adjacent to Shikoku and Kiushū; and along all the coasts fish and crustaceans are found in such abundance that they more than suffice for the ordinary food of the inhabitants. Of birds there is great abundance, some possessing beautiful plumage, others melodious notes, and others being suitable for food. To the last mentioned class belong barn-door fowl and ducks. Among insects, the silk-worm is largely reared throughout the main island, the climate and soil being particularly suitable for the purpose.

When we come to enumerate the natural products, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, coal, sulphur, porcelain clay, granite, rock-crystal, and agate occupy the principal place among minerals; while in the agricultural section, rice and barley, since they constitute the chief staples of national food, are most extensively cultivated, but beans, the sweet potato, the common potato, cotton, hemp, tobacco, and millet are also grown in considerable quantities; while of fruits we have the orange, the persimmon, the pear, the grape, and the apple; of living things, the ox, the horse, the pig, the barn-door fowl, and the duck.

With regard to marine products, the principal of the fish class are the whale, the sardine, the mackerel, the salmon, the salmon-trout, the cod, the tunny fish, the *surume (onychoteuthis banksii)*, the sea-ear *(awabi)* and the *béche-de-mer;* while among sea-weeds we have *kombu (laminaria japonica)*, *tokoroten-gusa* and *nori*.

Of articles into the production of which human labour enters, the principal are silk, woven fabrics, tea, sugar, paper, silk-worm egg cards, camphor, oil, *saké*, salt, *shōyu* (soy), keramic wares, lacquered articles, and gold and silver work. The chief staples of foreign export are silk, rice, tea, coal, copper, keramic ware, lacquer ware, textile fabrics, add camphor. At the head of the list of countries to which exports are sent, stands the United States of America, and next in order follow France, China, and England; while Great Britain is first of the countries from which imports are obtained, China, British India, the United States of America, and Germany occupying the next rank.

The total population is 40,072,020, the average distribution being 1,616 to the square *ri* (271 to the English square mile). But great differences exist in the density of the population in different districts. Thus, in the provinces of Kinai there are 5,549 persons to each square *ri*, whereas in Hokkaidō there are only 44. These, however, are the extremes.

The people of the main island live chiefly upon rice, vegetables, and fish. Thus, the great majority of those in the interior, devote themselves to agriculture, while those on the coasts practise fishing. Farming, however, is con-

ducted on a small scale, and fishing is confined, for the most part, to waters immediately adjacent to the shore. The climate and soil of the main island are admirably adapted to sericulture, and it thus results that the number of persons who employ the intervals of agriculture in rearing silk worms, increases annually. Industry and commerce have been carried on from ancient times with China and Korea, and since the era antecedent to the Ashikaga rule connections with the Occident also have existed. Development has therefore been steady. Art manufactures, especially for which the people have great aptitude, have been exported, and in recent times, freer intercourse with foreign countries having been opened and facilities provided for land and sea transport both at home and abroad, astonishing progress has been inaugurated.

The whole country is divided into nine principal regions according to its configuration: they are Kinai, Tokai-do, Tōsan-dō, Hokurikudō, Nankai-dō, Sanin-dō, Sanyō-dō, and Hokkai-dō. These, again, are subdivided into eighty-five provinces. Within the provinces there are urban districts *(shi)* and rural districts *(gun)*; in the three cities there are wards *(ku)* within urban districts, and rural districts *(gun)* include urban divisions *(chō)* and rural divisions *(son)*. The total number of towns *(shi)*—the term "town" is used when the population aggregates 25,000 or upwards—in the empire is forty, and the total number of divisions, eight hundred and four. For administrative purposes there are one board *(dō-chō)*, three cities *(fu)*, and forty-three prefectures *(ken)*.

The city of Tōkyō was called Edo in the Tokugawa times and was the seat of the Bakufu Government. To-

day it is the capital of the empire. It occupies a central position and is the largest city in the country. Its fifteen wards have a total population of 1,217,309. Kyōto, the old capital, is divided into two wards and has a population of 296,639. Ōsaka, the third of the cities, was the seat of the Taikō's administration. Possessing exceptional facilities for communication by sea and by river, it has been a tradal centre from olden times. It is divided into four wards, and has a population of 484,343. These three cities are called the "Three *Fu*." Next in order of importance come Nagoya, between Tōkyō and Kyōto, with a population of 173,742; Kanazawa, in the north of the main island, with a population of 92,367; Sendai, in the north east, with a population of 88,865; Hiroshima, in the south west, with a population of 94,912; Kumamoto, in Kiushū, with a population of 51,622. Among the open ports, Yokohama, with a population of 132,809, and Kōbe, with a population of 141,582, are the two most important, Nagasaki, Hakodate, and Niigata following at a considerable interval.

The five principal harbours are Yokohama, Kōbe, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodate. These are places of prime importance for the purpose of foreign trade. Yokohama, above all, being in the vicinity of the capital, is the centre of navigation. Ship are constantly entering and clearing there.

The chief maritime services of Japanese vessels are westward from Yokohama through the Enshū Sea to Yokkaichi; past the Enshū Sea by the Kishū Sea to Kōbe, and thence *viâ* the Inland Sea, past Shimonoseki and the Genkai Sea to Nagasaki. From the last named place there are three services. The first is to Fusan in Korea, with two

sub-services, one to Vladivostock touching at Genzanshin, and the other to Ninsen, Chefoo, Tientsin, and Newchwang. The second service is direct from Nagasaki to Shanghai, *viâ* the China Sea; and the third is from Nagasaki to Manila touching at Foochow and Amoy. There is still another service from Shanghai by Chinese and Korean ports to Vladivostock; one from Yokohama northward by the Pacific Ocean, to Otaru, touching at Oginohama and Hakodate. Foreign vessels, again, have services from Yokohama, westward to Hongkong, India, and Europe, and eastward to San Francisco, Vancouver, and Tacoma. Further, from Aomori in the extreme north of the main island, there is a service of Japanese ships by the Sea of Japan to Shimonoseki, touching at Niigata, Fushiki, Tsuruga and Sakai; and from Kōbe there is a service southward to Riukiu *viâ* Kagoshima and Ōshima.

In addition to the five harbours mentioned above, there are ten to which the name of special ports of export is given. They are Yokkaichi, Shimonoseki, Takata, Moji, Kuchinotsu, Karatsu, Misumi, Fushiki, Otaru, and Kushiro. From all these places rice, barley, flour, coal, and sulphur are shipped direct to foreign countries. Many good harbours exist at other places in the country, so that the maritime facilities are excellent.

Not only does an abundance of good anchorages contribute materially to maritime communications, but railways also have been constructed to connect the harbours with the interior, additional facilities are provided for travel and transport. The total length of the lines actually completed is 1,838 English miles; the length of those in process of construction is 123 miles; the length of which surveys

have been finished though the work of construction has not yet commenced, is 452 miles, and the length in process of survey is 168 miles. The principal of these roads is a line extending the whole length of the main island, from Aomori in the north-east to Shimonoseki in the south-west, and thence, from the other side of the Akama-ga-seki Strait, to Nagasaki in Kiushū, thus joining the two extremities of the main islands. Other finished roads are from Aomori to Mihara, and, in Kiushū, from Moji in Buzen province to Kumamoto in Higo, with two or three branch lines in the interval. With regard to roads crossing the main island, there are two that connect the coast of the Pacific Ocean with that the Sea of Japan. One, starting from Naoetsu in Echigo, leads to Takasaki in Kōzuke, whence it divides into two, namely, a line from Takasaki to Tōkyō *viâ* Ōmiya, and a line from Takasaki *viâ* Maebashi to Oyama, thence crossing the north-and-south trunk road to Mito in Hitachi. The other, from Kanagasaki in Echizen to Maibara in Ōmi, forms a junction with the north-and-south trunk road. There are also lines from Ōbu on the north-and-south trunk road to Taketoyo; from Kusatsu to Yokkaichi and from Ōbuna to Yokosuka, while roads in Shikoku and Hokkidō establish communication between the sea-coast and the interior.

Although the country has no mountains of exceptional altitude or rivers of extraordinary length, the conditions of climate and soil are such that not one of the mountains is without woods or one of the rivers without limpid water. So well distributed, too, are the high lands and streams, that places of beauty are everywhere to be found in the interior, and owing to the configuration of the coasts as well as to the number of islets, gems of scenic loveliness abound by the sea-side in all the provinces. Moreover, in

addition to wealth of natural charms, numerous shrines and temples of note exist in the choice districts of the main island, so that architectural, glyptic, pictorial, and horticultural beauties supplement the attractions of the scenery.

The main island is richest in places of note, and Kinai and its neighbourhood are the most favoured parts of the main island in this respect. From the time—the thirteenth year of Enryaku, correspoding with the year 754 A.D.—when the Emperor Kwammu made Kyōto his capital, until the present Sovereign moved to Tōkyō, a period of over eleven centuries, Kyōto remained the imperial seat of government. Hence it offers numbers of historical relics, and is further happy in the possession of scenic beauties attractive at all seasons of the year. Among its chief Shintō shrines, Yasaka, Kitano, Kamo, and Otokoyama may be mentioned; among its chief Buddhist temples, Chion-in, Shōkoku-ji, Kennin-ji, Myōshin-ji, Nishi-Hongwan-ji, and Higashi-Hongwan-ji; while of its scenic attractions the cherry blossoms of Arashi-yama and the maples of Takao are vernal and autumnal celebrities. Separated from Kyōto by a range of hills is the largest lake in the empire, Lake Biwa. On its margin is the renowned Ōmi-hakkei, the theme of poets, the inspiration of painters, and the boast of the nation.

At a distance of ten *ri* (24½ English miles) from Kyōto is Nara. Here was the imperial residence during a period of over eighty years prior to the reign of the Emperor Kwammu. Nara abounds in historical relics, the most noteworthy being the shrine of Kasuga and the Temple of Hōriuji, places nobly planned and naturally lovely. Tōdaiji, a large temple erected by the Emperor Shōmu, is more



Mount Fuji seen from Tagonoura.



K. Ogawa

Collotype.

View of Part of Matsushima.

than a thousand years old, and contains the celbrated Nara Daibutsu. The cherries of Yoshino-yama and the plums of Tsukigase, displays of bloom that have no peers elsewhere in the country, are in the same province as Nara.

In the district near the shore of Kinai, places celebrated for the beauty of their scenery are particularly abundant. The face of the Inland Sea between Shikoku and Sanyōdō is strewn with hundreds of little island whose shining white sands and green pine-trees combine to make a beautiful picture. Among spots renowned for exquisite sea-scapes may be mentioned Waka-no-ura in Kii, the Sumiyoshi beach in Settsu, Suma-no-ura, the Maiko beach, and Akashi-no-ura in Harima, and Itsukushima in Aki. The last-named place is a small island close to the sea-shore. It is composed almost entirely of fantastically shaped cliffs and strange rocks. On it stands a gracefully modelled shrine the hall and verandah of which seem to float on the surface of the water. Tradition ascribes the building of this shrine to Kiyomori, the Taira Chief, in the 12th century. The singular combination of water effect and architecture and the loveliness of the whole view suggest an abode of fairies.

In Kiushū, Yabakei is renowned for its landscape, and Usa-jingū shrine for its architecture. Still more celebrated is Ama-no-Hashidate in Sanindō. Here a sandy promontory completely covered with pine-trees stretches far into the sea, offering a scene of beauty which Matsushima and Itsukushima make the three most celebrated views in Japan.

Places of note in the neighbourhood of Tōkyō are Kamakura, Enoshima, Miho-no-Mastubara, and Kiyomigata on the south-east coast. Kamakura is the place which

Yoritomo, the Minamoto Chief, chose as the seat of feudal administration. It retained that status until the fall of the Hōjō family, an interval of more than a hundred and fifty years. Hence it offers many spots of note and interesting relics; among which may be specially mentioned the shrine of Hachiman at Tsurugaoka, and the temples of Kenchōji and Enkakuji. On the north of the capital the most celebrated place are Nikkō and Matsushima. At Nikkō is the mausoleum of Tokugawa Ieyasu. The beauties of its architectural decoration, the fineness of its carvings, and the loveliness of its scenery have inspired a popular saying that without seeing Nikkō a man is not qualified to speak of the beautiful. Matsushima, one of the three landscapes of Japan, is on the sea-shore of Rikuzen. Hundreds of tiny islets are here scattered over the face of the bay, every one clothed in a luxury of pine-trees. Viewed from the top of the hills, the scene is like a creation of fancy rendered on the canvas of a skilful painter. In addition to the above places of note Obasuteyama in Shinano, Myogisan in Kōdzuke, and Kōshinzan in Shimotsuke are worthy of mention.

The principal places of Buddhist worship, sanctity, and pilgrimage are Kōyasan, Minobusan, and Zenkōji.

## *NATIONAL POLITY.—EMPEROR AND PEOPLE.*

The Japanese empire has an origin different from that of other States. It owes nothing to aggression or conquest, but is founded entirely upon the loyal deference and obedience rendered by its people to the virtues and power of an

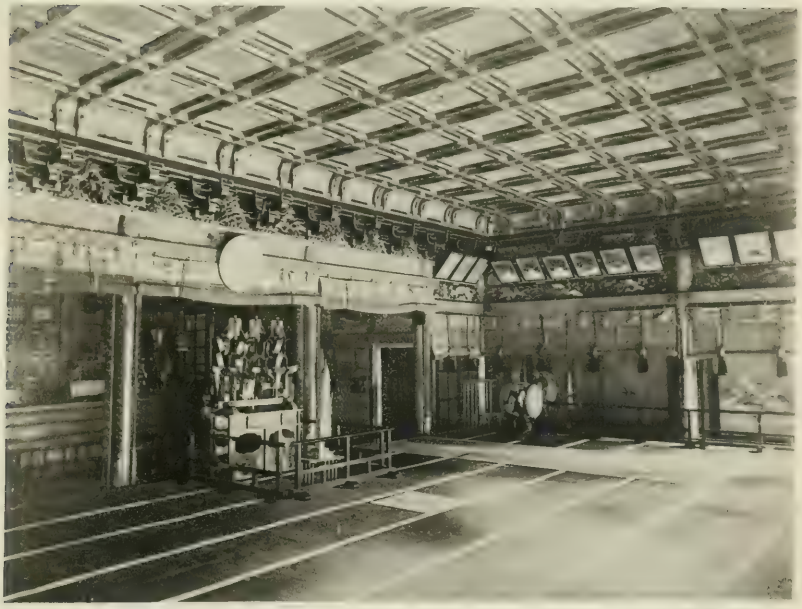


K. OGAWA. COLLOTYPE.

View of the Shrine at Itsukushima (Miyajima).



General View of Torii (Votive Gate) and
the Five Storied Pagoda at Nikko.



K. OGAWA. COLLOTYPE.

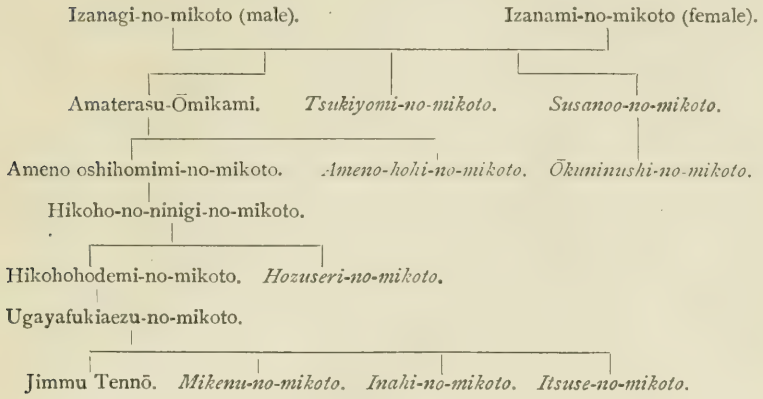
Interior of the Haiden (Sanctum
of Iyeyasu's Shrine at Nikko.

unbroken line of illustrious sovereigns. From the time that Amaterasu-Ōmikami made Ninigi-no-mikoto descend from the heavens and subject to his administrative sway Ōkuninushi-no-mikoto and the other offspring of the deities in the land, descendants of the divine beings have sat upon the throne generation after generation in succession. Each sovereign, faithful to the spirit of his ancestors and to the administrative policy bequeathed by the divine descendants, transmitted the reins of power to his successor, thus preserving the continuity of the Imperial dynasty and achieving the aim of good government. As time went by and the numbers of the Imperial descendants increased, the Emperor conferred titles on them and gave them fitting rank; and as the number of the Imperial family increased, these also received titles and were included among the people. But the Emperor himself, being a descendant of heaven, invested with rank and reverence higher than any title could confer necessarily remained without titular distinction.

After the subjugation of the three kingdoms of Korea, a number of Chinese and Koreans came to settle in Japan. In order to avert confusion in family names and titles which might have arisen from this cause, an investigation of family names was made in the 1430th year after the Emperor Jimmu. The three great distinctions of Emperor, subject, and foreigner were then established, and steps were taken to prevent mutual confusion. In the term Emperor were included the Sovereign and his direct descendants; in the term subject, the descendants of the various princes, and in the term foreigner, the descendants of the aliens who had settled in the land. From the most ancient times the governing classes in Japan having had a common origin and the administrative functions having been discharged as stated

above by generation after generation of the same lineage, great importance naturally attached to questions of genealogy and rank: the distinction of governing and governed was always rigidly observed and guaranteed against confusion. In the long period of more than twenty-five centuries that separates the present time from the era of the Emperor Jimmu, the country has not been without disturbances and vicissitudes or entirely free from rebellion and riot. But never has there been found a single subject of the realm who sought to impair the Imperial prestige. Descended in a direct line from the heavenly deities, the Emperor has stood unshaken in his high place through all generations, his prestige and dignity immutable from time immemorial and independent of all the vicissitudes of the world about him. But though the distinction between ruler and ruled has been thus distinctly preserved from ancient eras, the relation between the Emperor and his subjects has been that of father and child rather than of master and servant. The Imperial family was the parental house; the subjects were as relatives and connexions. Thus, though in the long course of ages immunity from internecine trouble was not absolute, the country, guarded by a perfect union of sovereign and subject, of rulers and ruled, has never once felt the shame of foreign conquest. It is doubtful whether, wide as the world is and numerous as are the states composing it, there has ever elsewhere been known a country happy in the possession of such an unbroken line of Sovereigns and so uniformly loyal a nation of subjects.

ABRIDGED GENEALOGY OF THE DIVINE SOVEREIGNS.




## PERIOD DURING WHICH THE EMPIRE WAS ADMINISTERED BY THE SOVEREIGN IN PERSON.

### CHAPTER I.

*History of Remote Antiquity—Izanagi-no-Mikoto (deity) and Izanami-no-Mikoto (deess). Amaterasu-Ōmikami (deess) and Susanoo-no-Mikoto (deity).—Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto, and the establishment of the seat of government in Hyuga.*

The period prior to the reign of the Emperor Jimmu is called by the Japanese "*Jindai*," or the age of the deities. Strange and incredible legends have been transmitted from that era. In order, however, to understand the history of the Empire's beginnings, the traditional incidents of the age, however singular, must be studied. We proceed, therefore, to a brief statement.

Tradition says that in remote times the deity Izanagi and the deess Izanami were commanded by the God of Heaven to form a country out of the islets floating in space. In obedience to this command they descended to an island called Onokoro, and there, becoming husband and wife, created Awaji, Shikoku, Oki, Tsukushi, Iki, Tsushima, Sado, and Ōyamato-toyo-akitsushima, to which group the name of Ōyashima, or the Eight Great Islands, was given. Thereafter were created deities to rule the sea, the mountains, the winds, fire, herbs and trees. Subsequently the divine pair gave birth to Amaterasu-Ōmikami and the deities Tsukiyomi and Susanoo. These newly-born divine beings proving themselves greatly superior to other deities, found high favour with the deity Izanagi. He commissioned Amaterasu-Ōmikami to govern Takama-no-hara; Tsukiyomi-no-mikoto to govern Yo-no-osukuni; and Susanoo-no-mikoto to govern Unabara. But this last deity proving unfaithful to his father's commands, Izanagi-no-mikoto, in anger, expelled him from his kingdom, whereupon he ascended to Takama-no-hara to convey to his sister Amaterasu-Ōmikami the news of his misfortune. The fierce and enraged demeanour of the dethroned deity led his sister to imagine that he had come with aggressive intentions, and she hesitated to receive him. But Susanoo-no-mikoto vehemently declared the integrity of his purpose and succeeded in partially reassuring the deess. Nevertheless, his behaviour was so disorderly that Amaterasu-Ōmikami, becoming fearful, secluded herself in a cave, with the result that total darkness overshadowed her realm and troubles of various sorts ensued. The other deities thereupon met in conclave and took measures to pacify the deess, so that she finally emerged from her retreat and light once more shone upon Takama-no-hara and Nakatsu-kuni. The deities then inflicted upon Susanoo-

no-mikoto the punishment of exile. Driven from heaven, he proceeded to Idzumo, and there destroyed an eight-headed dragon, obtaining from its body a precious sword which he presented to his sister Amaterasu-Ōmikami. Subsequently he married the daughter of an earthly deity and settled at Suga in Idzumo. At a later date, leaving one of his sons, Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto, to govern the land, he himself proceeded to Korea. Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto had many brothers. They all engaged in a struggle for the sovereign power. The victory remained with Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto, but his realm continuing to be more or less disturbed, Sukunahikona-no-mikoto, a son of the Deity of Heaven, came to Idzumo, over the sea, having received his father's command, and aided in restoring peace. The celestial visitor was also the bearer of certain medicines and amulets, which having presented to Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto, he went away to a foreign country. Thenceforth Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto and his sons administered the realm in tranquillity.

Meanwhile, in Takama-no-hara, Amaterasu-Ōmikami, concluding that Toyo-ashihara-no-Midzuho-no-kuni (fertile land) ought to be governed by her son, Ame-no-oshiho-mimi, commanded him to descend and assume authority in the land. Inasmuch, however, as he represented his proposed realm to be in a very disordered state, Amaterasu-Ōmikami, by order of the Deity of Heaven, held a council of deities, by whom a mandate to restore peace was given to Ameno-hohi-no-mikoto. He failed to accomplish his purpose, and Amewakahiko was afterwards sent on the same errand. They were both conquered, however, by Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto and did not return to heaven. Once more, therefore, a council of deities was convened, and

Nanakime was despatched to reconnoitre the land. She, however, was killed by Amewakahiko. Finally, Takemikadzuchi-no-kami, being entrusted with the duty, proceeded to Idzumo and informed Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto of the command given by the Deity of Heaven that the son of Amaterasu-Ōmikami should assume sovereignty over the country then ruled by Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto. The command thus communicated was obeyed. Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto ceded his kingdom to the son of the deess, and, with his sons, left the region. Takemikadzuchi-no-kami having carried this intelligence to Amaterasu-Ōmikami, she, conforming always with the commands of the Deity of Heaven, summoned her son, Ame-no-oshihomimi-no-mikoto, and informed him that, peace having been restored in Midzuho-no-kuni, he must proceed to govern it. He, however, prayed that his son, Ninigi-no-mikoto, might be sent in his stead, and the deess consenting, gave to Ninigi-no-mikoto a mandate to rule over Toyoashihara-no-Midzuho-no-kuni, and to maintain its prosperity so long as heaven and earth should endure. She further gave him the Yasakani Jewel, the Yata Mirror, and the Kusanagi Sword, saying: "This mirror is my spirit, regard it as myself." Thenceforth the Jewel, Mirror, and Sword, venerated, as the three precious relics of the deess, were transmitted from Emperor to Emperor through all generations.

The terrestrial deity, Sarudahiko, receiving news of the approach of Ninigi-no-mikoto and his divine retinue, came out to greet him. Under his guidance Ninigi-no-mikoto passed to Takachiho Mountain in Hyuga, and took up his abode at Kasasa Promotory in Ada (now Kaseda port in Satsuma). Ninigi-no-mikoto took to wife the daughter of a terrestrial deity, and by her had two sons, Hozuseri-no-

mikoto and Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto. These deities fell out and fought, with the result that the younger subdued the elder by the aid of the deity of the sea whose daughter he had married. The victor's son, Ugayafukiaezu, also married a daughter of the marine deity and had four sons, Itsuse-no-mikoto, Inahi-no-mikoto, Mikenu-no-mikoto, and Iwarehiko-no-mikoto, of whom the fourth and youngest afterwards became the the Emperor Jimmu. Inahi-no-mikoto went to the dominion of his mother over the waves and Mikenu-no-mikoto to the far-distant Tokoyo.

## CHAPTER II.—SECTION I.

### *From the Emperor Jimmu to the Taika Restoration.—The Emperor Jimmu's Invasion of the Eastern Provinces.*

Itsuse-no-mikoto and Iwarehiko-no-mikoto, residing in Takachiho Palace of Hyuga, took counsel together one day as to the place most suitable for the seat of administration. Their deliberations ending in a resolve to proceed eastwards, they left Hyuga, and, travelling to Hayasuinoto, were there met by Udzuhiko, a terrestrial deity who, having been informed of the coming of the descendants of the celestial deities, had gone out to receive them. Under his guidance they reached Usa in Toyo, where the inhabitants built a palace for them and treated them hospitably. Passing next to Chikuzen, they subsequently crossed the sea to Aki, and thence journeyed to Kibi, ten years being devoted to these travels. From Kibi they passed over by Naniwa to Tadetsu in Kusaka (somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Ōshima District of Idzumi province). There was then ruling at Tomi in Yamato

(now the Shikikami Division), a chieftain named Nagasunehiko, who had received with all reverence the coming of Nigihayabi-no-mikoto, a scion of the God of Heaven, and had aided him to extend his sway over the surrounding district. This chieftain, learning of the approach of the deities and their following, and imagining that they had come to deprive him of his territories, marshalled his forces to oppose them. In the battle that ensued, the deity Itsuse-no-mikoto was wounded by an arrow. His party therefore turned their prows to Onominato (now the Hine district of Idzumi) in Kii by the sea of Chinu. There Itsuse-no-mikoto died of his wound. Iwarehiko-no-mikoto then advanced to the Arasaka ford in Kumano, and having there killed a local chieftain, pushed on to Yoshino under the guidance of Prince Michinoomi (ancestor of the Ōtomo family), and Prince Ōkume (ancestor of the Kume family). The inhabitants, cave-dwellers, learning that a scion of the God of Heaven had arrived, went out to meet him and made submission. Prosecuting his campaign, Iwarehiko-no-mikoto killed Eukeshi, Yasotakeru, Eshiki, and other rebels, and once more planned an expedition against Nagasunehiko of Tomi. The letter, however, sent an envoy with this message :—" Prince Nigihayabi, son of the Deity of Heaven, came hither in a stone boat, and married my sister Kashiya, by whom he has a son, Prince Umashimate. I have made obeisance to Prince Nigihayabi as sovereign of the land. There can not possibly be two legitimate representatives of the Heavenly Deity. You must have come to deprive us wrongfully of the realm under pretext of celestial origin." To this Iwarehiko-no-mikoto replied :—" There is more than one son of the Deity of Heaven. If your sovereign be in truth the offspring of the Celestial Deity, he must possess some proofs. Let me see them." Nagasunehiko thereupon produced arrows and an arrow-case which the Prince

Nigihayabi had brought with him. The Emperor, having examined them, declared them to be genuine, and showed his own arrows and arrow-case to Nagasunehiko. But the latter, though fully sensible that the Emperor was of celestial origin, maintained an obstinate mien and would not change his view. Prince Nigihayabi, therefore, clearly perceiving his unreasonable disposition, put him to death, and passed over with all his men to serve in the Imperial Army. Well pleased by this act, the Emperor treated the Prince kindly and rewarded his loyal conduct. Orders were then issued to the Imperial captains to exterminate all the insurgents in the land, and the Yamato district having been brought into complete subjection, the Emperor established his capital at Kashihabara in Yamato, and ordained the duties of the various officials of his court, the Imperial power being thus extended and the administration placed on a fixed basis. This was the opening year of Japanese history.

After the death of the Emperor Jimmu, his eldest illegitimate son, Prince Tagishimimi, sought to usurp the sovereignty. But his eldest son, Prince Kamyaimimi, suspecting the plot, revealed it to his younger brother, Kannunakawamimi, who shot the usurper. Prince Kamyaimimi, applauding his brother's valour, gave him the throne, and he thus became the second Emperor, Suisei. After him followed the Emperors Annei, Itoku, Kōshō, Kōan, Kōrei, Kōgen, and Kaika, The interval covered by the reigns of these Sovereigns was 450 years, but beyond the fact that they succeeded to the throne in the above order, no records of the era have been transmitted to posterity.

SECTION II.

## *Administration and Condition of the Nation in the Early Era.*

Tradition gives no satisfactory information as to the form of Government or the condition of the nation in the days prior to the Emperor Jimmu. Our knowledge of these things is very limited. That the government was not carried on by any absolute exercise of the Sovereign prerogative, may be inferred from the fact that administrative acts, in almost every instance, were determined by the resolutions of a council. For example, when, during the reign of Amaterasu-Ōmikami in Takama-no-hara, the deity Susanoo behaved riotously and the deess hid herself to escape him, it is recorded that her Ministers assembled to placate her, and that Susanoo was punished in accordance with their decision. Again, on the occasion of surrendering the empire to the son of the Celestial Deity, Ōkuninushi-no-mikoto did not act id-dependently: he took counsel with his sons. Further, when there was question of subjugating Ōkuni-nushi-no-mikoto, Amaterasu-Ōmikami asked the advice of her Ministers, and sent an envoy to Idzumo according to their suggestion. These various incidents go to show that the system of autocracy did not then exist.

During the period extending from the deity Ninigi's settlment in Hiuga to the commencement of the Emperor Jimmu's conquests in the eastern districts, we find the celestial rulers inhabiting a portion of Kiushū, their sway comparatively limited and their times uneventful. In the interior a number of chieftains ruled, each exercising sovereignty in his own district, as may be gathered from the annals of Sarudahiko, Udzuhiko, Nagasunehiko, Eukeshi,

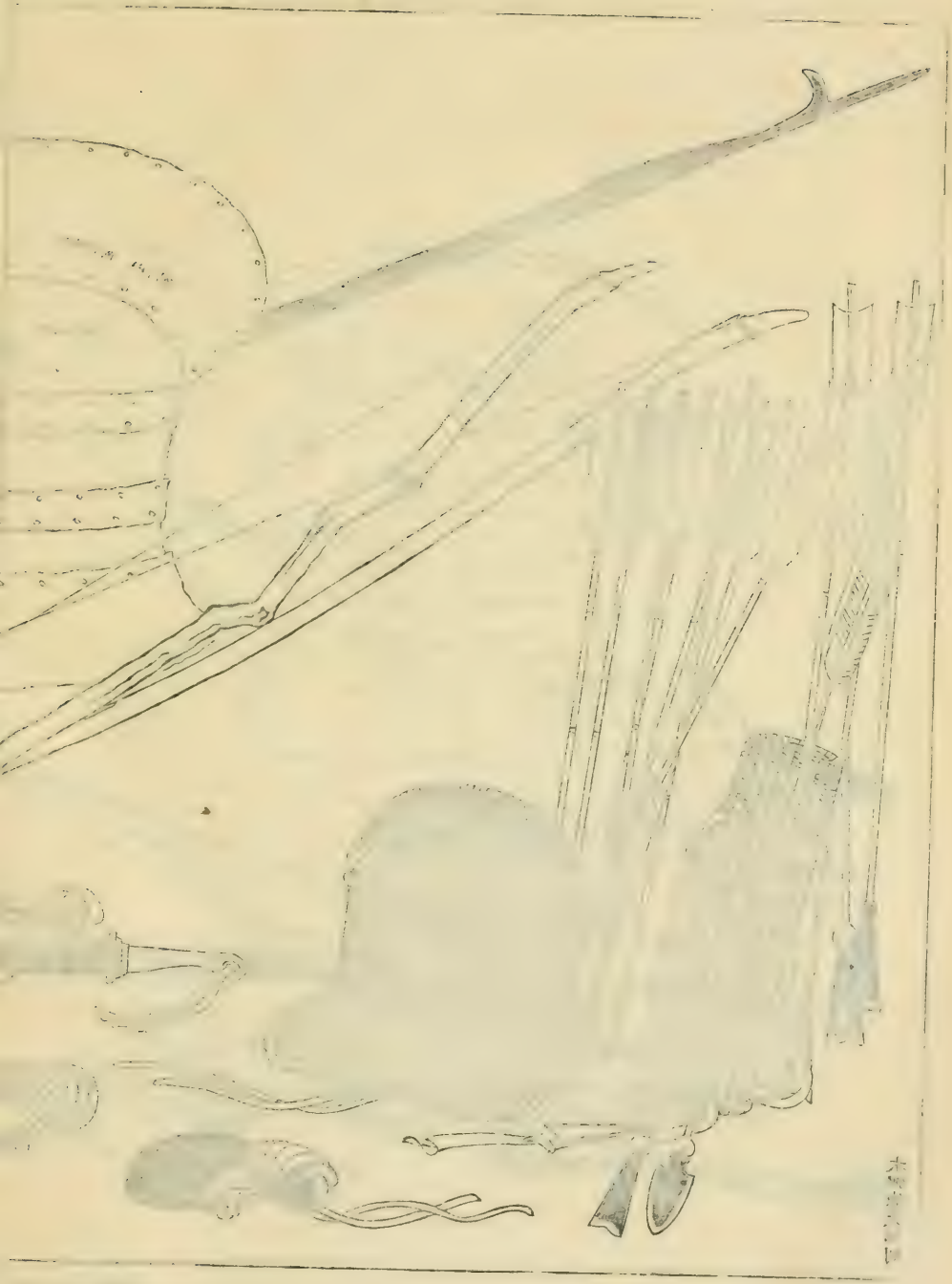
Eshiki, and Tsuchigumo. It is further evident that these autocthons subsequently surrendered to the power of the deities of heaven. The presumption is that in some age prior to the reign of the Emperor Jimmu the sway of the so-called *Amatsu-kami* (heavenly deities) was extended throughout the land.

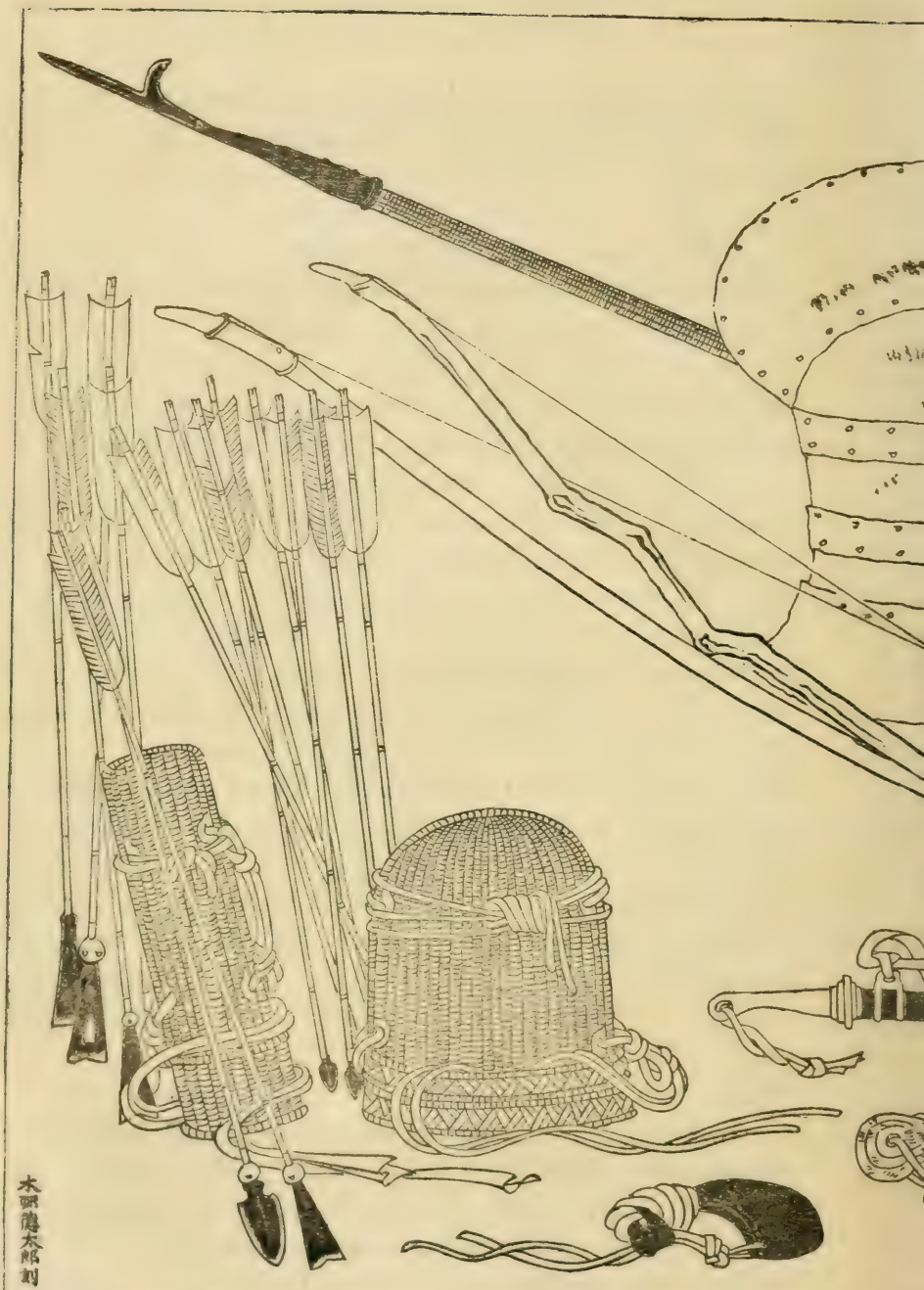
When the Emperor Jimmu had restored tranquillity throughout the empire and established his capital at Kashihabara, he erected a shrine to obtain the guardianship of heaven for the nation. The three celestial treasures, the Jewel, the Mirror, and the Sword, were deposited in the main building where the Emperor resided and governed. No distinction of shrine and palace was observed, neither was there any warehouse to keep public property apart from imperial property. The office of Minister was, in every case, hereditary. Prince Ame-no-Taneko (ancestor of the Nakatomi family), and Prince Ame-no-tomi (ancestor of the Imbe family), superintended religious observances and assisted in the administration, the worship of the Gods and the conduct of State affairs being one and the same. Prince Umashimate (ancestor of the Mononobe family) commanded the troops organized to guard the imperial buildings within, and Prince Ōkume (ancestor of the Kume family) was captain of the guards of the palace gates. Those who had achieved deeds of merit in subduing the eastern regions and those that had submitted, were appointed governors of provinces or heads of districts, the functions of local administration being entrusted to them.

Differences in moral capacity, in manner of living, in fashion of dress and in style of dwelling, undoubtedly existed between the race of Takamanohara and the autocthons

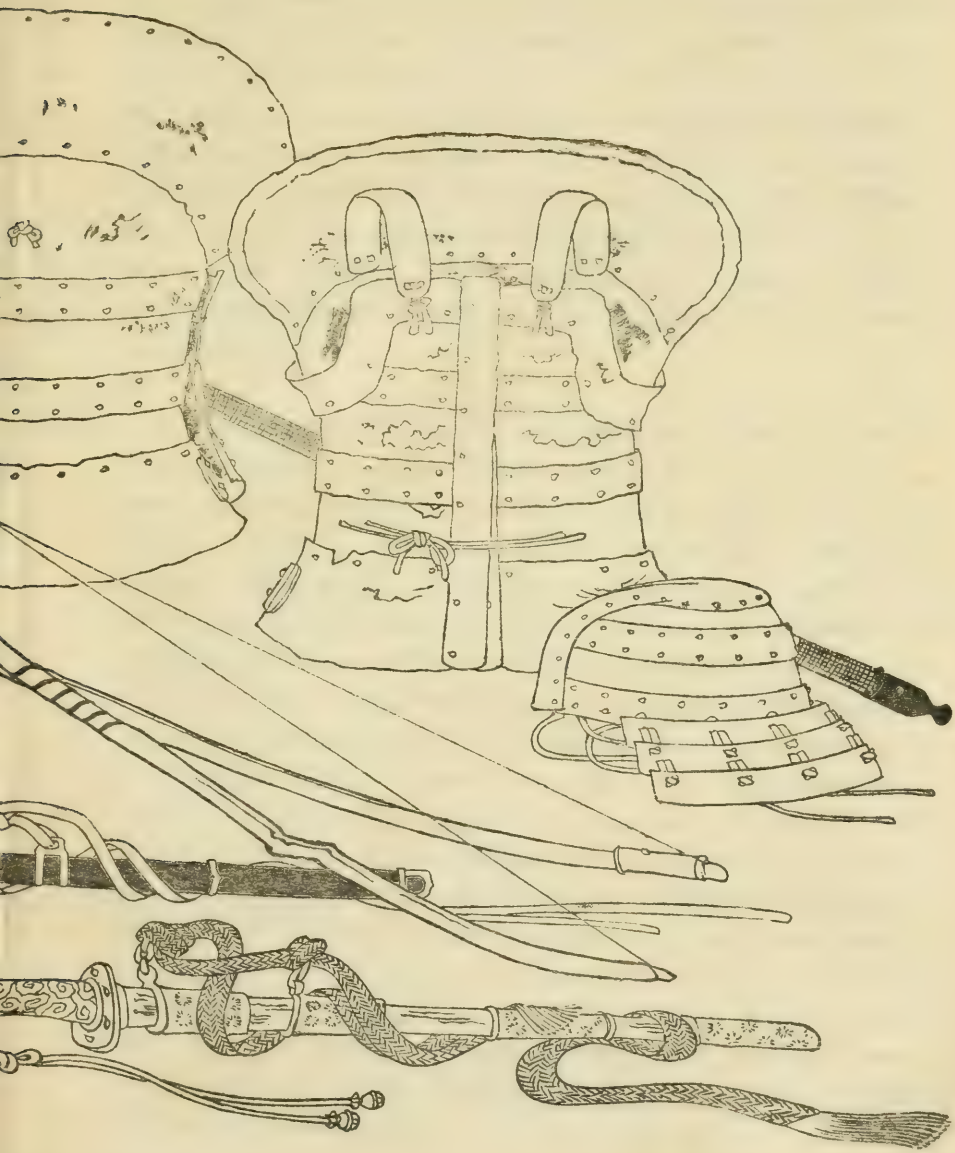
of Japan. But there must have been some general resemblances. The occupations of both were to fish in the rivers and seas, to hunt birds and animals in the plains and mountains, to pick fruits or gather mushrooms. Some also, taking advantage of a fertile soil suitable for rice cultivation, devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits. The principles of rice-culture were known during the reign of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, and in the era of the Emperor Jimmu the people lived principally on rice and fish or the flesh of animals. Bows and arrows or snares were the chief implements used in hunting, and hooks, cormorants, and weirs served for purposes of fishing. Methods of preparing food had already been elaborated, and the art of brewing *saké* was known. Marked progress had also taken place in matters of dress. Hats, robes, and pantaloons were worn, textile fabrics woven from hemp or the skins of animals being employed as material. The art of weaving was practised as early as the reign of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, and it is on record that the Emperor Jimmu caused investigations to be made into clothing stuffs and directed that the cultivation of hemp should be extended. For dyeing purposes the juices of herbs were utilized, giving red and green colours; and ornaments for the neck, arms, and legs were worn, consisting of beads of crystal, agate, glass, serpentine, and polished gems, shaped into cylinders or crescents and strung together.

For dwellings there were houses and pits; the aristocracy inhabiting the former, the autocthons the latter. Wood was used for building houses, posts being sunk in the ground as supports for a roof to which they were bound with ropes of wistaria and other creepers, a rude thatch completing the structure. This model survives in the Shinto shrines of the present day.





Weapons



War, etc.



The population was small, and as little communication took place between the different parts of the empire, roads were not constructed, and travelling was a matter of great difficulty. Nevertheless, people were familiar with the use of vehicles, and navigation had been greatly developed. Oars, however, seem to have been the only known means of propelling a boat: sails had not yet been conceived. Moreever, though the aristocrats habitually wore foot-gear, they often went barefoot when crossing the country. Horses and cormorants were kept, not for purposes of food, however, but for use.

The implements employed in war were bows of wood, arrows of bamboo, spears and swords of copper, iron, or stone. Arrow-heads of stone as well as arrow-cases and shields were also used. In addition to culinary utensils of pottery, ploughs for agricultural purposes and hatchets for hewing timber had been invented. The arts of mining and smelting ores as well as of casting metal were known, for we read that during the reign of Amaterasu-Ōmikami a metal was extracted from the celestial mines for the purpose of manufacturing a mirror; that the deity Hikohohodemi caused a great many hooks to be cast from his sword, and that the deity Ameno-ma-hitotsu had various kinds of swords and axes made. Further, in the time of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, minerals from the bed of the Ame-no-Yasukawa were shaped into crescents for ornamental purposes; the deess herself instructed female artisans in the craft of weaving, and pottery vessels were manufactured for culinary and sacrificial uses. All these facts go to show that the industrial arts had been developed considerably.

A reverential habit of mind towards the deities pre-

vailed everywhere. Neither in the upper nor in the lower classes was there found anyone without this sentiment of profound awe and respect. If the people submitted readily to the sway of the Emperor Jimmu, it was because they regarded him as a scion of the gods. The Emperor, on his side, firmly convinced that good and evil were controlled by divine will, never neglected to perform sacrificial rites. The worship of heaven was instituted in the time of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, and the Emperor Jimmu invariably invoked the aid of the gods before setting out on a campaign. Further, when he established his seat of government in Yamato, we find him erecting a shrine, and sacred place was subsequently established on the mountain called Tomi in commemoration of heavenly assistance and in memory of the divine ancestors. Out of the custom of extreme reverence towards the deities grew abhorrence for impurity in any form, so that separate huts came to be built for the bodies of the dead or for women at times of parturition, and if any man came in contact with an unclean object, he bathed in a river or purify himself.

When marriage took place, the bridegroom went to the house of the bride. A man was permitted to have concubines as well as a wife, but women were never allowed to have more than one husband. Divination was always employed to resolve doubtful questions. Music and dancing were already known, the *koto* and the flute being employed as musical instruments. Emotions of grief or joy, love or disappointment were expressed in song. The most ancient song now extant is attributed to the deity Susanoo. The Emperor Jimmu also frequently commemorated brave deeds of war in song, thus encouraging and reviving the spirit of his warriors.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EMPERORS.

1.—Emperor Jimmu.
(660—585 B.C.)
2.—Emperor Suisei.
(581—549 B. C.)
3.—Emperor Annei.
(548—510 B.C.)
4.—Emperor Itoku.
(510—475 B.C.)
5.—Emperor Kōshō.
(475—392 B.C.)
6.—Emperor Kōan.
(392—290 B.C.)
7.—Emperor Kōrei.
(290—214 B.C.)
8.—Emperor Kōgen.
(214—157 B.C.)
9.—Emperor Kaikwa.
(157—97 B.C.)
10.—Emperor Sujin.
(97—29 B.C )
11.—Emperor Suinin.
(29 B.C.—71 A.D.)
12.—Emperor Keikō.
(71—131 A.D.)
13.—Emperor Seimu.
(131—192 A.D.)
14.—Emperor Chūai,
(192—270 A.D.)
(including the regency of the Empress Jingū).
15.—Emperor Ōjin.
(270—310 A.D.)

SECTION III.

## *Administrative Records.*

From the time when the Emperor Jimmu established his capital in Yamato to the reign of the Emperor Sujin, a period covering nine generations and more than five and a half centuries, the three sacred insignia of sovereignty were kept in the throne-room of the palace and affairs of state were conducted in their presence. The Emperor Sujin, however, fearing that the insignia might be polluted, caused facsimilies to be made of the Mirror and Sword, and disposing them in the throne-room with the Jewel, treated them as the insignia, the original Mirror and Sword being deposited in a shrine at Kasanui in Yamato, where one of the Imperial Princesses was entrusted with the duty of guarding them and performing sacrificial rites. It was thus that shrine and palace were separated. Subsequently, in obedience to a mandate of the deities, these sacred objects were removed to Ise, and placed in the shrine now

existing there. The Sword however, was afterwards carried to Atsuta in Owari, where it now lies in the Atsuta Shrine.

During the early days of the Emperor Sujin's reign the land was visited by a pestilence. Great numbers of the people died, others began to take refuge in distant regions, and not a few rebelled. The Emperor, grieving greatly at these untoward events and regarding them as a punishment from heaven, consulted the soothsayers, and by their interpretation of the divine will, worship of the Ōmiwa deity was instituted on Mimoro Mountain, shrines for the celestial deities and the terrestial deities were fixed in various places, offerings of periapts (*gohei*) were made, and detailed religious rites were instituted. The pestilence was soon stayed and peace restored to the people.

The Emperor Jimmu's sway was limited to a few districts in the neighbourhood of Yamato. The fact that the Imperial authority extended to these regions only is inferred from the positions of the local administrators' seats and from the rules applicable to their districts. In the reign of the Emperor Sujin the Imperial authority had much wider bounds, but even then many distant regions were still unconquered. The Emperor therefore despatched generals to Koshi (Hokurikudō), Tōkaidō, Saikaidō, and Tamba, to bring the inhabitants of those districts into subjection. On the eve of the departure of the generals, Prince Takehaniyasu, a step-brother of the Emperor, collected a force of soldiers and, accompanied by his consort, organised an attack upon the Imperial Palace, but the Emperor's forces routed the army of the Prince and Princess and put them both to death. Thereafter the generals set out on their mission of conquest and quickly subdued the designated

provinces. Afterwards, the Emperor's son Toyokiirihiko was sent eastward to subdue and govern the districts in that quarter. Thus in the reign of Sujin the whole Empire was brought under the Imperial sway, peace was restored, and the people enjoyed tranquillity and prosperity. At this era the first mention of taxation occurs in the history of Japan. The Emperor issued orders that male subjects should present to the throne the produce of the bow and arrow, and that female subjects should make offerings of handiwork. By the produce of the bow and arrow, we must obviously understand the skins, tusks, and horns of animals shot in hunting; and by offerings of female handiwork, textile fabrics. The Emperor took much interest in the duties of national administration. He caused irrigating ponds and canals to be dug for the promotion of agriculture, and he built ships for the people along the coasts to facilitate navigation. Thus the men of the time gave to him the title of "the first country-pacifying emperor" (Hatsukuni-shirashishi Sumera-mikoto).

The next Emperor was named Suinin. During his reign Saohiko, the elder brother of the Empress, sought to persuade the Empress to engage in a plot against the Emperor's life. The Empress, however, divulged the plot and soldiers were despatched to attack and kill Saohiko. This sovereign also took measures to promote agriculture. He caused some 800 ponds and canals to be constructed in Yamato, Kawachi, and other provinces, and he built magazines at Kume and in other places for storing rice and various kinds of grain.

The next occupant of the throne after Suinin was Keikō. From the time of the Emperor Jimmu to this monarch's reign, though there had been a few petty insur-

rections in the neighbourhood of the palace, no rebellion had occurred in far-off provinces. But when the Emperor Keikō ascended the throne the Kumaso of Tsukushi rose in arms. The Emperor went in person to subdue them, and when he reached the province of Suō a female rebel, named Kamkashi-hime, came to do homage and to convey information about the rebels in the district, whereupon the Emperor ordered one of her generals, Takemorogi, to undertake their subjection. Meanwhile, the Sovereign himself advanced towards Tsukushi. On his arrival at Ōita, another female rebel, Hayatsu-hime, came to make act of submission and to convey intelligence about a body of insurgents called the Tsuchi-gumo who lived in the neighbouring mountains and defied the Imperial authority. The Emperor conducted the campaign against these rebels in person and killed their leader. After six years spent in that district, peace having been completely rëestablished in the province of Oso, the Emperor continued his campaign from place to place in Kiushū, and having broken the power of all the rebels, returned to the capital. Not many years had elapsed, however, before the Kumaso once more rose in arms. Prince Yamatodake, the son of the Emperor, was then only 16 years of age, but had given proofs of such bravery and strength that the Emperor ordered him to proceed against the rebels. The Prince made his way to Tsukushi, and having disguised himself as a girl, obtained entry into the house of the Kumaso chief, where he killed the chief while his warriors were lying drunk. On his return journey he overthrew many rebellious princes, and having killed the chieftain in Idzumo, rëentered the capital in triumph. Meanwhile the Emperor, after his conquest of the Kumaso, had commissioned Takenouchi-Sukune to travel in the north-eastern districts and examine the state

of the country and the habits of the people. Takenouchi, returning, reported that he had found in the East a province named Hidakami where the people of both sexes wore their hair tied up, tattoed their bodies, and performed deeds of valour. They were known as the Emishi, and their land, being extensive and fertile, ought to be added to the Imperial domain. These Emishi rose in rebellion shortly after the return of Prince Yamatodake from the conquest of the Kumaso. Thereupon Prince Yamatodake declared that, since only a brief interval separated the conquest of the Kumaso from this intelligence of the Eastern barbarians' revolt, it was plain that without resolute measures the peace of the Empire could never be achieved. He therefore boldly offered to undertake the conquest of the new insurgents. The Emperor, assenting, gave the Prince an eight-fathom spear (*ya-hiro-boko*) and also commissioned Kibi-no-Takehiko and Ōtomo-no-Takehi to accompany him. The Prince proceeded to the Suruga country; *viâ* Ise and Owari, and conquered the rebels there. Embarking in ships at Sagami, he crossed to Kadzusa, add thence coasted along to Mutsu. As he sailed toward the region of the Emishi, he displayed a large mirror at the prow of his vessel, and when the rebel chieftains and their followers sighted the ships, they were terrified by such evidences of pomp and power, and throwing away their bows and arrows, made submission. The Prince accepted their homage, and enlisting their aid, conquered other rebels who still resisted the progress of the imperial forces. It seems probable that on that occasion Prince Yamato-dake advanced as far as the present province of Iwaki. On his return journey, he passed through the province of Hidachi, and reached the Usui Pass by way of Musashi, Sagami, Kai, and Kōdzuke. At that Pass he detached a force under Kibi-no-Takehiko to make a detour

by the Koshi country—the provinces of Echizen and Echigo —for the purpose of reconnoitering the positions of importance and inspecting the condition of the inhabitants, while he himself proceeded to Mino passing through the province of Shinano. At Mino the Prince was rejoined by Kibi-no-Takehiko, and the two entered the province of Owari. Learning there that a certain chieftain had raised a revolt at the mountain of Ibuki in Ōmi, the Prince went alone to attack him. But he was seized *en route* by a severe illness which compelled him to remain at Ise. His malady threatening to end fatally, he sent Kibi-no-Takehito to the capital to report that the Sovereign's orders had been performed and shortly afterwards he died at Ise. The Emperor, bitterly grieved at the news of his illustrious son's death, set out and made the tour of the districts subdued by Yamato-dake. His Majesty appointed Prince Mimorowake to govern the fifteen provinces of Tōsandō and to rule the Emishi of the north-east. There were at that time no less than seventy-seven Princes of the Blood, all of whom were appointed to governorships of districts *(Kimi or Wake)* or other local offices of inferior grade. Thus not only the Kumaso in the west but also the Emishi in the east were brought into subjection and the imperial sway was materially extended. Further, the Emperor conferred on Takenouchi-Sukune the post of Minister President, and commissioned him to assist in the administration. He also caused a survey to be made of cultivated lands and established an imperial domain as well as imperial granaries. From all these facts it may be inferred that the Sovereign did not devote himself solely to extending his sway, but that he also took steps to place the governmental organization on a well ordered footing.

The Emperor Seimu succeeded Keikō. Faithful to

the injunctions bequeathed to him by his father, this Sovereign applied himself diligently to administrative organization. He retained Takenouchi-Sukune as Minister President, and observing that, despite the conquests of the late Emperor and despite the fact that Princes of the Blood had been appointed to direct local affairs, considerable disorder still prevailed in the country, he concluded that defects in the system of local administration and a want of ability on the part of the administrators must be held responsible. He therefore issued a rescript appointing Heads of Districts and of Divisions, whose insignia of office were to be shields and spears, and dividing the land according to its geographical features, rivers and mountains being taken as the boundaries of provinces, and roads as the limits of towns and villages. Governors of Provinces and Heads of Districts were appointed in accordance with this arrangement, and a high degree of order was introduced into the local administrative organization.

When the Emperor Jimmu established the office of local governor, there were only nine provinces, but the number was increased by more than ten during the reigns of Kaika, Sujin, and Keikō and become sixty-three in the time of the Emperor Seimu. The Imperial sway then extended northwards as far Shinobu (the present Mutsu), Sado and Noto; eastwards to Tsukuba (now Hitachi); westward to Amakusa, and southward to Kii. Throughout the whole of this district, governors were appointed to administer local affairs. Subsequently the process of division continued until, in the reign of the Empress Suiko, the total number of provinces reached 144 at which figure it remained until the Taika Reformation. These local divisions, though here spoken of as provinces, had in fact different appellations—

as *kuni*, a province, or *agata*, a district—and were not of uniform area. The term *kuni* was employed to designate an area bounded by mountains or rivers, whereas the *agata* had no such geographical limits. In general the former was the more extensive, but in consequence of the natural features of the country the *agata* was sometimes the larger.

## SECTION IV.

### *Communication with Foreign Countries.—Conquest of Korea.*

The first foreign country with which the Japanese established communications was Korea, then known as Sankan. In remote times, the celestial Prince Susanoo-no-mikoto is said to have gone from Idzumo to the Kan State (one of the divisions of Korea) and a Korean Prince Ame-no-hiboko crossed from the same State and settled in Tajima. Subsequently Prince Inahi, elder brother of the Emperor Jimmu, went to Shiragi (another division of Korea), and became its king. During the reign of the Emperor Sujin, a Prince named Tsunuga-arashito and others came to Japan from the state of Ōkara and were received in audience by the succeeding Emperor Suinin. On that occasion the Emperor is said to have expressed regret that the visitors had not been presented to his father, and in order to commemorate the era of their coming, he desired the Prince to call the State over which he ruled Mimana, that being the second name of the Emperor Suinin. When the Prince and his suit were leaving the country, the Emperor gave them a present of scarlet silk. This the people of Shiragi State stole on the Prince's arrival in his country and the incident led to war between

Shiragi and Mimana. The contest was continued in connection with the ownership of a district named Sampamon, and finally the King of Mimana despatched an ambassador to Japan praying that some skilled generals might be sent to his assistance. The Emperor Suinin, after counsel with his Ministers, commissioned Shionoritsuhiko to restore peace to the state of Mimana. This was the first expedition ever sent by Japan to a foreign country. It is also recorded that the same Emperor despatched Tadimamori, a descendant of Ame-no-hiboko, to Tokoyo, a distant country not identified. During the reign of the Emperor Sujin, it would seem that some of the local officials in Kiushū had secret relations with China, for in the reign of the Emperor Kwangwu, of the later Han dynasty in China, certain Japanese went to that Sovereign's court as envoys from Ito district, and received official positions there. At that era communication with China was effected through Korean territory and many Chinese scholars came to Ito-fu or to Satsuma by way of Tsushima, Iki, and Matsuura.

The Emperor Seimu having died childless, the son of Prince Yamatodake, his brother, succeeded to the throne under the name of Chūai. During this reign the Kumaso or Tsukushi again rebelled. These constant disturbances in Tsukushi were due to assistance received from Korea. On this occasion the Emperor himself assumed command of the Navy and proceeded to the province of Nagato, to which place the Empress was subsequently summoned, and the Imperial couple remained there for several years, ultimately moving to Tsukushi where a council was held to discuss the best means of destroying the Kumaso. The Emperor ordered Takenouchi-sukune to pray for the guidance of the deities, who answared the prayer by in-

spiring the Empress to declare that the Kumaso were not worth destroying, but that if the state called Shiragi, lying westward of Japan, were conquered, the Kumaso would make submission. The Emperor, however, hesitated to take this advice, and the deities punished his disobedience by death. Awed by this startling event, the Empress gave directions that her consort's death should be kept secret, and having entrusted to the Emperor's generals the duty of guarding the temporary palace in Tsukushi, she sent Takenouchi to convey the Emperor's remains to Nagato by sea, while she herself remained to mourn the sudden death of her husband in his prime. Sacrifices were again offered to the deities, and prayers addressed to them for counsel. The reply was the same as it had been previously. Thereupon the Empress performed rites of worship and despatched Kamowake to subdue the Kumaso, a task soon accomplished. She herself proceeded to the conquest of the Tsuchigumo and of the rebels in the neighbourhood, and then, proceeding to a river in the Tamashima district of Matsura, she sought by fishing to obtain an omen as to whether the conquest of Korea should be attempted. The indications being in the affirmative, she finally resolved to lead an expedition in person across the sea. Sacrificial rites were again performed to all the deities, and the Empress, returning to Kashihi Bay, ordered the people to build ships, and sent sailors westward to reconnoitre the land which she contemplated invading. By and by, a lucky day having been chosen, the Japanese fleet set out from Wanizu in Tsushima, and aided by a favourable wind, soon reached the Shiragi Coast. Hasankin, the King of Shiragi, was so much alarmed by the appearance of the invading force that, without offering any resistance, he came to sue for peace, and made solemn

promise that he should serve the Empress continually in the capacity of groom and that annual tribute should be offered by his country to Japan. The Empress ordered that some of the King's relatives should be given as hostages and that a tribute of eighty shiploads of gold, silver, and silk, should be paid annually. Learning of these things and having ascertained from the reports of soldiers sent to reconnoitre the invading forces that successful resistance was out of the question, the Kings of Koma and Kudara also came and made submission, engaging to serve as tributaries and to send annual gifts to Japan. The Empress nominated the King of Shiragi superitendent of the Imperial mews, and the King of Kudara superintendent of tribute, and leaving behind her various officials, returned to Japan in triumph. Korea thus became a tributary of Japan.

The Empress carried on the regency for 69 years, after which Ōjin, her son, succeeded to the throne. Subsequently to the return of the Empress from Korea the Princes Kagosaka and Oshikuma, step-brothers of Ōjin, rebelled against him, but were soon overcome. Throughout the Empress's regency that most faithful of servants Takenouchi-sukune, Minister President, assisted her Majesty to discharge the administrative functions and established a special claim to the gratitude of the nation in connection with the conquest of Korea and the subjugation of the rebellious princes. The Sovereign of Shiragi afterwards behaved with contumely on more than one occasion. Another expedition was also sent against Tsukushi under the command of Takenouchi, and at this time the local government of Tsukushi was established for the first time. There were then many Japanese officials serving in Shiragi and Kudara, their administration being directed by the

Japanese local government established in Mimana, which in turn was controlled by the Tsukushi government. Thus the administration of Korean affairs appears to have been organized on a tolerably competent basis.

## SECTION V.

### *The Introduction of Chinese Literature.*

In the most ancient times the state of affairs was exceedingly primitive. No method of writing had yet been invented and all information was transmitted orally. But in China civilisation had progressed much more rapidly and literature was in an advanced condition. The art of writing was introduced to Korea by Kitsei, a prince of the house of In, who was appointed king of that country. Japan's intercourse with China and Korea began in the reign of the Emperor Sujin and increased steadily during succeeding eras. The reign of the Emperor Sujin was contemporaneous with the era of the Han dynasty in China, which was about 450 years after the time of Confucius and 300 years after that of Mencius. Korea, having been conquered by Wati of the Han dynasty prior to the reign of the Emperor Sujin, Chinese literature had already become familiar in the Kingdom before intercourse with Japan commenced. As communications between Korea and Japan increased, many inhabitants of the former country came to settle in the latter, and there can be no doubt that they gave instruction to the Japanese in literature and art. Moreover, since many Japanese had gone to China and Korea before the conquest of the latter by the Empress Jingō, it may fairly be inferred that not a few people in Japan were able to read and write

Chinese before the conquest. It would seem, however, that the Japanese who proceeded to Korea or China were chiefly high local officials of Kiushū and the neighbouring districts, very few being despatched by the Imperial Government. But after the conquest of Korea things changed in this respect. The intercourse between the tributary country and its suzerain was necessarily close. Many Koreans accompanied the commissioners who brought the annual tribute to Japan, and the literature and art of the West were gradually introduced. Japanese annals attribute the beginning of Japanese literature to the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, when, at a time corresponding with 218 A.D., a celebrated scholar called Achiki visited Japan and was appointed by the Emperor tutor to his son, Wakairatsuko. At the suggestion of Achiki, another learned man named Wani was sent for, and at his coming in the following year this Wani is said to have brought with him blacksmiths, weavers, and brewers, as well as 10 copies of the Lon-yü (book of argument) and one copy of the Chien-tze-wen (book of the thousand characters), which volumes were presented to the emperor. Under Wani's tuition, the Imperial Prince acquired a thorough knowledge of the Chinese classics. This is the first recorded instance of the teaching of Chinese literature in Japan.

Achiki and Wani were naturalized in Japan and received official positions, and their descendants, during several generations, continued to hold professorships at Court. About 110 years after the introduction of Chinese literature, the Emperor Richū being on the throne, historiographers were appointed in all the local districts, their duty being to chronicle the chief events of the locality. This was the first organized attempt to compile regular records, and we may infer that civiliza-

tion had greatly advanced and that the intellectual standard had been materially raised. Subsequently, as the administrative machinery grew more complex, the necessity of recourse to writing became more and more imperative, and, in consequence, descendants of the naturalised Koreans were regarded as particularly eligible for office. Moreover, after the coming of Achiki and Wani, men of learning began to arrive from Korea in increasing numbers. Thus, in the reign of the Emperor Keitai, there came from Kudara to teach Chinese literature Danyoji and Kankoanmo, doctors in the Five Classics *(gokyo hakase)*. Again, while Kimmei was on the throne, doctors in medicine and astronomy and other *savants* settled in the country, and opened classes to instruct the Japanese in their special branches of study. Nevertheless, the knowledge of Chinese literature did not make such progress as to take the form of literary labours until after the introduction of Buddhism, nor did Japanese scholars compose classical works until after intercourse with China during the Sui and Tang dynasties.

During the reign of the Emperor Suiko, Prince Shōtoku, in conjuction with Soga-no-Umako, composed a history of Japan, the first known work of the kind. This book was destroyed by fire on the occasion of the fall of the Soga family, and as no copy has been handed down to posterity, the exact plan of the work and its literary form are unascertainable, but without doubt it was compiled after Chinese models. Prince Shōtoku was an accurate student of Chinese literature and was also well versed in Buddhism. He wrote a commentary on the Buddhist Sutras and compiled a Constitution of 17 Articles, both of which works are in finished classical style.

In addition to the above documents, various monumental inscriptions have been transmitted from those ages, but they are chiefly in the Chinese style of composition. It was not yet possible at that era to write the language of the country freely by means of Chinese ideographs.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EMPERORS.

15th Emperor Ōjin, 270-313. A D.

16th Emperor Nintoku, 313-400.

17th Emperor Richū, 400-405.—18th Emperor Hanshō, 405-411.—19th Emperor Inkyō, 411-453.

Prince Ichinobe-Oshiwa.

20th Emperor Ankō, 453-456.—21st Emperor Yūryaku, 456-479.

22nd Emperor Seinei. 479-484.

23rd Emperor Kensō, 484-487.—24th Emperor Ninken, 487-498.

25th Emperor Buretsu, 498-506.

Emperor Ōjin.

Emperor Nintoku.—Prince Wakamikenofutamata.

Prince Ohoto.

Prince Hikoushi.

26th Emperor Keitai, 506-534.

27th Emperor Ankan, 534-536.—28th Emperor Senkwa, 536-540.—29th Emperor Kimmei, 540-572.

30th Emperor Bidatsu, 572-586.—31st Emperor Yōmei, 586-588.—32nd Emperor Sushun, 588-591.—33rd Empress Suiko, 591-629.

Prince Oshisakahikonushi.

34th Emperor Yōmei, 629-642.—Prince Shōtoku.

Prince Chinu.

35th Empress Kōkyoku, 642-645.—36th Emperor Kōtoku, 645-655.

SECTION VI.

## *Introduction and spread of Buddhism.*

Before proceeding to describe the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, brief reference must be made to the Imperial House.

During the thirteen reigns covering a period of 220 years from the Emperor Nintoku to the Emperor Senkwa, we find not a little worthy of note in the affairs of the Imperial Household. The Emperor Nintoku's beneficent sway, which secured to the Empire an era of perfect tranquillity, and the Emperor Yūryaku's austere administration, which added not a little to the power of the Throne, are both salient features. The Emperor Seinei, having died without issue, the continuity of the lineal succession was in danger of interruption, when two grandsons of the Emperor Richū were discovered living among the people. These, in turn, wielded the Imperial power, and are known in history as the Emperor Kensō and Ninken. The Emperor Buretsu, again, died without issue, and the Ministers of State, after conference, invited from the province of Echizen, where he was living, a prince fifth in descent from the Emperor Ōjin and placed him upon the Throne. This was the Emperor Keitai. He reigned 25 years, and having abdicated in favour of his son, died on the very day of laying down the reins of power. Prior to the time of this Emperor, the Throne had never been ascended by the heir-apparent while its former occupant still lived. These facts call for special notice in relation to the history of the Imperial succession.

In the reign of the Emperor Keitai (507-531 A.D.), there came to Japan from the State of Southern Lian in

China a man named Sumatah. He settled in the province of Yamato, and, being a profound believer in Buddhism, sought to propagate its doctrines. But the people regarding Buddha as a foreign god, no one embraced the new religion. Afterwards, during the reign of the Emperor Kimmei, in the year 555 A.D., the King of Kudara, in Korea, sent to Japan an envoy bearing an image of Buddha and a copy of the Sutras. These the ambassador presented to the Emperor, with a message to the effect that the creed of Buddha excelled all religious beliefs, and that boundless happiness in this world, as well as in the next, was insured to its disciples. The ambassador added an assertion that all peoples from India to Korea were followers of Buddha, Much impressed by this message and the gifts accompanying it, the Emperor was disposed to worship the image, but before doing so, he summoned his Ministers to debate the advisability of the step. Soga-no-Iname, Minister President, expressed the opinion that as all western nations worshipped Buddha, there was no reason why Japan alone should reject his doctrine; but Mononobe-no-Okoshi and Nakatomi-no-Kamako, Ministers of State, took the opposite view. They pointed out that from the most ancient times the Japanese had worshipped the celestial and terrestial deities, and that if reverence were paid now to any alien deity, the wrath of the tutelary gods of the land might be provoked. The Emperor approved the latter view, and gave the image of Buddha to Iname with permission to worship it by way of trial. Iname was greately pleased with the behest. He lost no time in converting his residence into a temple, where he placed the image of the Buddha. Soon afterwards the Empire was visited by a pestilence which swept away numbers of the people. Okoshi and Kamako thereupon having represented to the Sovereign that this was

obviously a punishment inflicted by deities, the temple was burned down, and the image of Buddha thrown into the canal in Naniwa. The Emperor, however, did not altogether abandon his predilection for the worship of Buddha, and Iname secretly sent to Korea for another image of the god. Thus, in the reign of the Emperor Bitatsu, images of Buddha, copies of the Sutras, priests, and manufacturers of Buddhist paraphernalia, were introduced from the kingdoms of Kudara and Shiragi. Subsequently (584 A.D.), Soga-no-Umako, who had succeeded his father, Iname, as Minister President, again built temples and pagodas dedicated to Buddha. Once again, however, a pestilence visited the country, destroying many people, and once again Mononobe Moriya, the son of Okoshi, and Katsumi, the son of Kamako, presented an Address to the Throne averring that the pestilence must be attributed to the worship of Buddha by the Soga family. An Imperial Rescript was issued prohibiting the worship of Buddha; all the temples and pagodas dedicated to the foreign god were demolished or burned, and the images of Buddha were thrown into the canal in Naniwa. But the people's sufferings were not relieved. A plague of boils ensued, and inasmuch as the pain caused by the sores resembled that of burning or beating, old and young alike concluded that they were the victims of a punishment of burning inflicted by Buddha. From this it may be inferred that Buddhism had already established a hold upon popular imagination. Shortly afterwards Soga-no-Umako, having applied for permission, was allowed to worship Buddha with himself alone.

When the Emperor Yōmei ascended the throne, he suffered so much from bodily infirmity that the idea of worshipping Buddha occured to him. He assembled his



Image of Prince Shotoku.



Minister to discuss the matter. The influence of the pro-Buddhists being now very great, they took advantage of this occasion to kill Nakatomi-no-Katsumi, the leader of the anti-Buddhist party; and Prince Shōtoku, with Soga-no-Umako, led a body of troops to attack Mononobe-no-Moriya, the other most prominent anti-Buddhist, whom also they killed. The opponents of Buddhism were thus deprived of all effective influence, and by the combined energy of Umako and Prince Shōtoku, the propagandism of the foreign faith proceeded vigorously.

In the reign of the Empress Suiko, there was issued an Imperial Rescript encouraging the spread of Buddhism. Orders were also given to the Crown Prince, the Princes of the Blood, and the Ministers of State to have images of Buddha made. Ranks were conferred on the manufacturers of these images and their labours were rewarded with grants of rice-land. In the year 607 A.D., the Empress Suiko being on the throne of Japan, and the Sui dynasty reigning in China, Ono-no-Imoko was sent to the latter country to obtain copies of the Sutras. This was the commencement of direct intercourse with China. The preamble of the despatch sent on that occasion from the Empress of Japan to the Sovereign of China was couched in the following words: "The Sovereign of the Emperor of the Rising Sun to the Sovereign of the Empire of the Setting Sun sends greeting." Doubtless the name "Nippon" (Land of the Rising Sun) had its origin in this incident. By and by, as the number of priests and nuns increased, disorders occurred amongst them, and for purposes of superintendence the offices of *Sojo* (archbishop) and *Sozu* (bishop) were established. From the introduction of Buddhism in the reign of the Emperor Kimmei to the time of which we are

now speaking, 75 years elasped. During the first 32 years of that period, Buddhism failed to obtain a footing in Japan, but from the 13th year of the reign of the Emperor Bitatsu (584 A.D.), and during the succeeding 43 years, it gradually extended throughout the Empire. In the year 627 A.D. there were 46 temples, 816 priests and 569 nuns in Japan.

## SECTION VII.

### *Development of Administration by Hereditary Officials.*

In the earliest days, the administration was conducted by hereditary officials: the original holder of an office bequeathed it to his son, and the latter to his son in succession. It thus resulted that family names were derived from official titles. For example, the official title for persons who discharged duties connected with religious ceremonies was Nakatomi and Imbe, and these became family names of holders of that office. Similarly Ōtomo and Mononobe were family names of officials having control of troops or direction of military affairs. Among commoners, again, some performed a certain kind of work for the Government from generation to generation. These were called Shinabe. Each class of such workers was under the control of a Headman who generally belonged to an influential Court family. The Headmen bore the surnames of "Omi," "Muraji," "Atai," "Obito," and so forth—surnames corresponding with titles of rank, which distinguished the nobles from the commoners and were conferred by the Sovereign in recognition of deeds of merit. For example, one section of commoners comissioned to discharge ceremonial functions being called "Nakatomi-be," and another "Imbe," the head of the former became

"Nakatomi-no-Muraji," and the head of the latter, "Imbe-no-Obito." Again, "Yugiye-be," "Ōtomo-be," and "Mono-no-be" being the designations of departments for the management of military affairs, their Headmen were styled "Ōtomo-no-Muraji," "Mononobe-no-Muraji," and so forth. These Headmen all belonged to influential families of the governing classes. Another department, called "Shinabe," comprised all officials charged with sumptuary duties, and these too were under the control of Headmen. The "Tamatsukuribe" was a department where jade and other precious minerals were cut and polished. Its chief officer was "Tamatsukuri-no-Muraji." The "Hanishi" were concerned with the manufacture of keramic wares under the direction of "Hanishi-no-Omi." The "Hatori" were weavers of apparel, under "Hatori-no-Muraji." The "Sakabe" brewed wine, and were controlled by "Sakabe-no-Kimi." Thus each occupation had its department and each department its head. The varieties were very numerous, and with reference to this fact they were collectively spoken of as "Yasotomonoo" (*yaso* signifies eighty), or Momoyasobe" (*momo* signifies a hundred), while the Omi, Muraji, Atai, Obito, and other heads of departments were included in the term "Tomo-no-Miyatsuko." Among these the Omi and the Muraji especially belonged to conspicuously influential Court families.

At the period when the Emperor Jimmu reigned, the administrative functions were very simple. But as years went by, the governmental organization became devoloped and fixed. In the reign of the Emperor Suinin the office of Ōmuraji was instituted; in the reign of the Emperor Seimu, that of Ōomi, and from the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku the two offices of Ōomi and Ōmuraji existed side by side.

The most influential among the members of the Muraji family was called Ōmuraji, and regarded as the head of the family, while in the Omi family the corresponding title was Ōomi. By command of the Emperor these terms were subsequently used to designate the highest official titles. In the reign of the Emperor Yōmei, the Mononobe family, by which the rank of Ōmuraji was then held, became extinct, and the title was ultimately abolished. Similarly, the Soga family, which held the rank of Ōomi, becoming extinct in the reign of the Empress Kōkyoku, the title also was thenceforth abolished.

## SECTION VIII.

### *Ascendancy of the Nobles.*

In proportion as the system of family government developed, the influence of the aristocrats naturally increased. In the reign of the Emperor Jimmu, the Nakatomi and Imbe families discharged functions connected with religious ceremonies, and the Ōtomo, Kume, and Mononobe families were charged with military duties. The influence of these families was then about equal. But in the reign of the Emperor Keikō, the head of the Ōtomo family, Takehi, performed such meritorious service that he was entrusted with the control of the Kumebe department in addition to his own. Thus the influence of the Kume family began to decline, whereas the heads of the Ōtomo and Mononobe families held the rank of Ōmuraji, and, in conjunction with the Ōomi, acted as the Sovereign's chief administrative assistants. Subsequently, when Iwa and Sadehiko were the heads of the Ōtomo family, the control of Korean affairs was entrusted to that family, and in consequence the domestic administration remained chiefly in the hands of the Ōmuraji

of Mononobe and the Ōomi of Soga. The Soga family was descended from Takenouchi-sukune, who had assisted the Empress Jingō in her conquest of Korea. This house therefore was of much more recent creation than the houses of Mononobe and Ōtomo; nevertheless, it always occupied a more influential position in the Government. From a very early time the Soga and Mononobe families began to fight for the administrative power, and the introduction of Buddhism had the effect of greatly accentuating their hostility. The Mononobe family adhered steadily to conservative principles and opposed the spread of Buddhism. The Soga family, on the contrary, took a liberal attitude and favoured the foreign faith. At the outset, however, since both families bowed implicitly to the Imperial commands, their dispute did not attain serious proportions. But in the reign of the Emperor Yōmei, not only was the Empress Dowager a daughter of the Soga family, but also the Emperor himself inclined to the worship of Buddha. Hence the final struggle between the two families could no longer be deferred. On the death of the Emperor, Mononobe-no-Moriya sought to secure the succession for Prince Anahobe, brother of the deceased Sovereign, but Soga-no-Umako discovered the design and sent men to attack the Prince. Simultaneously Prince Shōtoku, acting in conjunction with Prince Hatsusebe, led a force of soldiers against the Mononobe partizans, and killed Moriya. The Mononobe family being thus overthrown, the supremacy rested with the Soga House. Umako, head of the latter, took council with the Empress Kashiya, consort of the Emperor Bitatsu, and the Ministers of State, and it was decided that Prince Hatsusebe, of the Soga family, should succeed to the Throne. Subsequently, Soga-no-Umako relying on his great achievements, behaved in an arbitrary

manner and incurred the dislike of the Sovereign. He did not await the consequences of this estrangement, but caused the Emperor to be assassinated, and placed the Empress Kashiya on the Throne, under the title of the Empress Suiko. This was the first instance of the sceptre being held by a female, for although the administrative functions were discharged during a long series of years by the Empress Jingo, she did not actually ascend the Throne but simply held the post of Regent. Suiko, however, became Sovereign despite the presence of direct successors in the male line; an extraordinary occurrence ascribable to her consanguinity with the Soga family, who sought, through her, to enhance their power. The strength of the Mononobe house, which alone had stood between the Soga and supremacy, being now completely broken, and the sceptre being held by a Sovereign who was not only a woman but also a member of the Soga family, the autocratic arbitrariness of the latter increased sensibly. On the death of Umako, his son, Emishi, succeeded him as Ōomi, and wielded even larger influence than his father. Another opportunity for the exercise and development of that influence soon arose. The Crown Prince, Umayado, son of the Empress Suiko, died, and no successor having been nominated, Soga-no-Emishi desired to secure the succession to Prince Tamura, grandson of the Emperor Bitatsu. But Sakaibe Marise, Emishi's uncle, being a close friend of Prince Shōtoku, planned to obtain the Throne for the latters's son, Prince Yamashiro. Forthwith Emishi caused his uncle to be assassinated, and had Prince Tamura proclaimed Emperor, pretexting the will of the deceased Empress. The new Sovereign was styled Jomei. These successes had the effect of accentuating the arbitrary behaviour of the Soga Chief. All the other Ministers of the Crown cowered before him. After Jomei's

death, his consort ascended the Throne under the name of Kōkyoku. Emishi then received the position of Ōomi, his son Iruka discharging the administrative functions, and exercising even greater power than his father. Iruka's object was to obtain the Throne for Prince Furuhito-no-ōye, a relation of the Soga family. But an obstacle existed in the person of Prince Yamashiro, whose goodness and discretion had won popular respect. Steps were therefore taken to have this Prince assassinated, after which event Iruka showed himself so arbitrary and unscrupulous that there appeared to be danger of his compassing the destruction of the lineal successors to the Throne and usurping the Sovereignty himself. Thereupon Nakatomi Kamatari, a loyal subject, conferred with Prince Naka-no-ōye, son of the Emperor Jomei, as to the expediency of making away with Iruka. This plot culminated in the killing of Iruka in the Throne-room, on a day when Korean Ambassadors were received at the Court. Iruka's father, Emishi, was also killed, and the family of Soga fell.

## SECTION IX.

### *Influence of Chinese and Korean Civilization on Japan.*

The development of Japan's civilization was materially affected by her relations with China and Korea. Literature, in the form of the Chinese classics, religion in the form of Buddhism, together with art, sciences, and other elements of civilization, introduced from those countries, changed the simplicity of Japanese life and imparted to it a character of refinement and pomp. Chinese literature, in short, and the creed of Buddha must be regarded as the influences that vivified the heart of Japanese national progress.

The coming of Chinese literature taught Japan not only the uses of letters, but also the significance of fidelity, piety, benevolence, and justice. The Emperor Ōjin's son, who was the first Japanese student of Chinese literature, had acquired such an accurate knowledge of the rules of composition and caligraphy that when a memorial was presented to the Throne by Korean Ambassadors, he detected the presence of disrespectful ideographs and rebuked the envoys. His attainments won for him the favour of his father who nominated him heir in preference to his elder brother; nevertheless, on the death of the Emperor, the Prince resigned his claim in behalf of his brother. For such self-denial his scholarship had prepared him. So, too, the erudite Emperor Nintoku dwelt for the space of three years in a dilapidated palace, in order that his people might have relief from taxation, and might know the love his learning had taught him. The prosperity of the nation, His Majesty said, was his own prosperity; therefore, the poverty of his people must also be his own. Natural benevolence doubtless dictated this noble conduct, but the doctrine of Confucius must have greatly helped the result; for the doctrine inculcated reverence towards heaven, respect for ancestors, loyalty to the Sovereign, and discharge of the duties of filial piety. These principles had been known, indeed, to the Japanese people from an early era, but their active influence dated from the introduction of Buddhism; and, as Buddhism extended, the Confucian philosophy grew by its side.

The coming of Buddhism wrought a complete change in the mind of the nation. Hitherto the people's conception of religion had been of a most rudimentary character. They merely believed that the gods must be revered, relied on, and feared. In their simple faith, they attributed every

happy or unhappy event, every fortunate or unfortunate incident, to the volition of the deities; to whom, therefore, they offered sacrifices that evil might be averted. Thus, we find it recorded that when the Emperor Sujin worshipped the gods, a pestilence prevailing throughout the land disappeared and health was restored to the people. The Emperor Chūai, again, failing to comply with the mandate of heaven, died suddenly, whereas the Empress Jingō, obeying it, achieved the conquest of Korea. In a word, the men of olden time believed that the world was governed by deities wielding supernatural powers, and that everything, whether good or evil, emanated from them. This faith inspired the worship that heaven received. It was believed, also, that the gods resembled men in appearance and conducted themselves like human beings; out of which faith grew the firmly entertained conception that some men were scions of the deities, and that the deities themselves were of various species. In the highest rank stood the Celestial and Terrestrial Gods; in the lowest, certain wild animals and venomous snakes, which also were propitiated by worship. The term *Kami* (god) had many significations. The hair of the head was called *kami*, as was also the upper part of any object. In later times, the governors of provinces received the same appellation, and the Government itself was designated "*Okami*." In brief, the word was employed to signify anything above or superior. When the Emperor Jimmu reigned, no distinction existed between gods and men; nor did the national conception of a deity undergo any material change after the introduction of the Confucian philosophy, the tenets of which offered no contradiction to the ancient idea. But although the leading doctrine of Buddha—as, for example, "Thou shalt do no evil thing," or "thou shalt do only that which is good"—marked

no departure from the teachings of Confucius, Buddhism told of a past and of a future; announced the doctrine that virtue should be rewarded and vice punished in a future state; and taught that the Buddha was the Supreme Being and that whosoever had faith in him should receive unlimited blessings at his hands. All this differed radically from the pristine creed of the Japanese. They had hitherto held that above all, and to be reverenced and feared exclusively, were the deities and the sovereign. The ruler being regarded as an incarnate god, his commands had received the implicit obedience due to the mandates of heaven. But when the creed of Baddha came, the Sovereign, hitherto the object of his subjects, worship, began himself to worship the Sepreme Being. Nevertheless, so deeply had the old reverential awe of the deities struck its roots into the heart of the people, that on the first appearance of a pestilence, they counted it a punishment of the gods of the land, destroyed the images of Buddha, and burned the places consecrated to his worship. But with fuller knowledge of the Buddhist doctrines, came a growing disposition to embrace them. Only a few years after the rejection of the foreign faith on account of a pestilence, we find the Emperor Bidatsu interpreting the sickness of Umako as a sign that the worship of Buddha must be permitted to that Minister, and after the lapse of another brief interval, we have the people themselves inferring that a plague of boils had been ordained by the Buddha. The Emperor Yōmei was a devout Buddhist, and in his reign Prince Shōtoku, among the Princes of the Blood, and Soga-no-Umako, among the Ministers of the Crown were conspicuous devotees of the faith, while Mononobe-no-Moriya, Nakatomi-no-Katsumi, and other anti-Buddhist leaders met with violent deaths. Ignorant folks, observing

that the Sovereign himself as well as his chief Minister believed in Buddhism, and seeing the golden images of Buddha, the imposing structures where they were enshrined, the gorgeous paraphernalia of the temples and the solemnity of the rites performed there, were awed into faith; while the cultured classes were gradually won over by study of the profound and convincing doctrines of the creed. So deeply had the tenet of unswerving fate sunk into the national mind before the close of the sixth century, that when the Emperor Sushun was murdered by Umako, Prince Shōtoku maintained that the Sovereign had suffered in consequence of some evil deed committed in the past, and no punishment was inflicted on the murderer. Yet the people saw nothing strange in the incident. Buddhism had already wrought a distinct change in the national character.

The progress of the imported creed was materially hastened by a rescript which the Emperor Suiko issued inculcating its propagandism. Prince Shōtoku also contributed to the movement, for, in 604 A.D., he compiled a constitution of seventeen articles, based on the doctrines of Confucianism and Buddhism. This was the first written law in Japan, but it differed from the laws promulgated in subsequent ages, inasmuch as instructions as well as prohibitions and sanctions were embodied in its text.

In recording the history of the propagandism of the creed of Buddha in Japan, one fact must not be forgotten, namely, that the people's reverence for the ancient gods did not perish in the presence of the new faith. The supernatural power of the deities was still credited. Buddhist priests in later ages went so far as to declare that these deities owed their origin to Buddha, a dogma evidently

conceived in the interests of Buddhist propagandism. To this latter circumstance fuller reference will be made elsewhere.

## SECTION X.

### *Progress of Industries and Arts.*

That the people had some knowledge of industry and art prior to the reign of the Emperor Jimmu, is apparent from the annals. But progress in these directions dates chiefly from the opening of intercourse with China and Korea. Subsequently to the conquest of the latter Kingdom, weavers and embroiderers arrived from Kudara in the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, and Yudzuki-no-Kimi, ancestor of the Hada family, and Achi-no-omi, ancestor of the Aya family, came to Japan accompanied by a large number of their nationals, and were naturalized there. During the reign of the Emperor Nintoku, the members of the Hada family were distributed in various parts of the empire as instructors in sericulture, and in the time of the Emperor Yūryaku communications were opened with Wu, a State of Southern China, whither an envoy was sent to engage the services of skilled artizans, the Emperor being anxious to effect improvements in the national costume. This envoy brought back with him female weavers and seamstresses. Thereafter a new department was organized under the name of *Kinunuibe* (section of tailoring). Orders were issued that mulberry trees should be planted in various districts, and the members of the Hada family, numbering 18,670 in all, who had been scattered throughout the empire, were brought together and organized under the superintendence of Hada-no-Sake-no-Kimi, grandson of Yudzuki-no-Kimi. Sake-no-Kimi took vigorous measures to develop sericulture,

the silk produced being presented to the Emperor. The records say that this silk was for a time piled up in the Throne-room, and that ultimately a warehouse to contain it was built beside the Palace, Sake-no-Kimi being nominated its director. That the art of weaving brocade was known at that era, may be inferred from the fact that a Brocade Department already existed.

Architecture also made considerable progress after the Korean immigration. The first house of several stores was built during the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku, but with the introduction of Buddhism a need arose for lofty and large edifices. Hence, during and subsequent to the reign of the Emperor Bitatsu, architects for temple building came from Kudara. These were followed by tile-makers in the time of the Emperor Sushun, and thenceforth roofs of tiles began to be constructed as well as roofs of thatch. Korean architects were then employed to build spacious mansions for private use, in addition to Buddhist temples.

The art of making pottery was known before the days of the Emperor Jimmu, and in the reign of the Emperor Suinin it is recorded that Nomi-no-Sukune manufactured horses, men, and all kinds, of figures for interment in and around the Imperial tombs. The advent of Chinese Keramists subsequently gave a great impetus to the art. The blacksmith's craft was also known at an early era. Swords were forged with great skill, and it is stated that an iron helmet existed in the reign of the Emperor Sujin. After the conquest of Korea many workers in metal crossed from that kingdom to Japan, and large iron articles began to be manufactured. With the introduction of Buddhism, the goldsmith's craft, also, made rapid strides. From Korea,

again, tanners immigrated during the reign of Ninken. They settled in the province of Yamato and dressed hides of all kinds. The Emperor Yūryaku gave a fresh impulse to this craft by importing from China tanners who not only cured skins, but also made them into saddles and various other aticles. As for the arts of manufacturing paper, ink, whetstones, and dyes, they were taught by a Korean priest in the reign of the Empress Suiko. The musical art, too, seems to have been known in pre-historic times, but its development dates from the establishment of intercourse with China and Korea. It is on record that after the introduction of Buddhism, Prince Shōtoku encouraged the teaching of foreign music.

Painting was first tought by a Chinese artist who arrived in Japan during the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku. In the train of Buddhism, however, many artist crossed from China to Japan. They devoted themselves to the limning of religious subjects, and their presence gave a powerful impetus to the art. Further progress was made in the reign of the Empress Suiko, when the methods of producing pigments and dyes came to be known.

To Chinese physicians the introduction of the medical science also must be attributed. At a later date, in the time of the Empress Suiko, students were despatched to China to study medicine, after which Chinese therapeutics was generally practised in Japan.

The calender is another of the debts which Japan owes to China. It was introduced in the 12th year of the reign of the Empress Suiko (604 A. D.). Prior to that date, however, civilization had so far advanced that the method

of calculating months or years was understood, and a species of almanack had been in use from ancient times.

## SECTION XI.

### *Development of Agriculture and Commerce.*

During and after the time of the Emperor Jimmu ponds and canals were constructed for purposes of irrigation and encourgement was given to agricultural pursuits. At a later era, while Suinin was upon the throne, the property of the Government in the various localities was delimited and distinguished as *miyake*, and number of farmers were employed to cultivate it while the people, on their side, reclaimed waste lands and settled there, using wooden mattocks and metal shears for farming purposes. In the days of the Emperor Kensō we find that cattle-pasturing was much practised. Commerce, however, does not seem to have attained much development even after the conquest of Korea, nor does any evidence of the use of coins appear until the reign of the Emperor Kensō, when the price of grain is recorded to have fallen so low that a *koku* of rice could be purchased for one piece of silver. No mint existed in the country, however, so it may be assumed that the coins in circulation were foreign. Two centuries separate the reign of the Emperor Kensō from the time when coins were first struck in Japan, and their employment encouraged; and inasmuch as, even at that comparatively late date, the people were found to be very ignorant in the use of such media of exchange, it seems difficult to believe that the silver pieces referred to in the time of Kensō were generally current. Beyond doubt, however, many marts for the transaction of business existed throughout the empire in the

days of that Emperor, transactions, probably of barter, being carried on there in rice, cereals, cloth, silk, and so forth.

From the fact that a tax was imposed on ships in the reign of the Emperor Kimmei, it may be inferred that the coasting trade had then been inaugurated, and that merchants travelled in numbers to distant provinces for purposes of trade. The records state that a superintendent of commerce was appointed during the same reign, and additional proof that tradal enterprise had made considerable progress. A scale of weights and measures was introduced from the State of Wu while Sushun sat on the Throne, and in the reign of the Emperor Jomei rules relating to weights and measures were promulgated.

Communication by means of boats seems to have existed in prehistoric times, and after the opening of intercourse with Korea, the need of maritime conveyance becoming more urgent, vessels of considerable size were constructed. Shipwrights were among the numerous handicraftsmen supplied by Korea to Japan in those days.

## SECTION XII.

### *Manners and Customes of the Age.*

Prior to the era of intercourse with Korea, the dwellings of the Japanese people, the nature of their food, and the fashion of their garments were exceedingly simple. But as soon as the arts and industries of China and Korea entered the country, a taste for more luxurious habits began to be developed. Nothing, however, disturbed the primeval reverence entertained towards the deities. While, on the

one hand, manufactures and modes of life were sensibly progressing towards a higher level, on the other, we find the people having recourse to religious rites whenever any doubtful question called for solution; thrusting their hands into boiling water and distinguishing the right from the wrong by the result of the ordeal. Civilization, however, advanced, and changes of customs were inaugurated. With the development of the art of weaving, apparel was improved by the addition of silk garments; as agriculture progressed, rice and other cereals furnished agreeable aliment; the influence of Buddhism gradually produced a distaste for animal food; and the introduction of the science of architectures soon effected a marked change in the dimensions and decoration of dwelling-houses.

Marriage was subjected to few restrictions. A man might marry his sister-in-law, or a woman her brother-in-law. Two sisters might be wives of the same husband, and a widow was at liberty to marry again. These customs lose something of their anomaly when it is remembered that in ancient times a bride did not go to live in the house of her husband: a married couple lived apart, the husband merely paying periodical visits to the home of his wife. There was consequently less impropriety in the nation of a man's contracting marital relations with several women simultaneously. Farther, since the children of these unions were brought up in the homes of their mothers, half brothers and sisters often had no knowledge whatever of their relationship, and might intermarry at any time. The marriage of a man with his sister, the daughter of his own mother, was of course strictly prohibited. On occasions when youths and maidens assembled, a kind of dance called "*utagaki*" was performed, during which dancers selected

partners who afterwards became their wives or husbands. In towns this dance was held in the market-places and in the country on the hills. During the era when the Kumaso and the Emishi rebelled frequently, it often occurred that the position of chieftain of a district was held by a woman, and that wives accompanied their husbands on campaigns or hunting expeditions. Evidently the women of that age were not so feeble physically as are those of the present day. Some of the nobles made a practice of fixing their burial-places before death and building magnificent tombs there. When an Emperor, Empress, or Prince of the Blood died, their immediate attendants were interred with the corpse, but this custom was abolished in the reign of the Emperor Suinin. A high value seems to have been set upon great cleanliness even before the days of the Emperor Jimmu, and towards the end of the reign this tendency received still greater development. Thus if a traveller died on the way, his comrades were required to pay a sum of money to the people living in the neighbourhood in order that sacrificial rites of purification might be performed. The same rule was enforced in the case of sickness. Travelling in those days was accompained by many inconveniences. When a man set out on a journey, he had to carry with him rice and a pot for boiling it; and before cooking a meal by the roadside it was essential that he should obtain permission from the people of the vicinity. If he failed to do so, he ran the risk of incurring their anger and being required to pay an indemnity in order that their houses might be purified by sacrifices to the deities. If a traveller, unprovided with a pot of his own, borrowed one to cook his rice and suffered the utensil to touch anything unclean, he had to pay for its subsequent purification. Naturally, as intercommunication became more frequent,

these troublesome customs were either interdicted or abandoned.

After the reign of the Emperor Jimmu, the functions connected with each section of the administration were discharged by specially designated families whose influence consequently became very great. But in the reign of the Emperor Inkyō, intermixture and confusion of families was found to have occurred. In order to re-establish the original distinctions, an assembly of families was convened and the patrician blood was distinguished from the plebeian by a process of water-boiling. From that time dates a marked distinction between the superior and the inferior classes of the people. The former occupied the position of masters, and the latter discharged the duties of servants. Slavery existed. It owed its origin in part to such incidents as the degradation of aristocrats who by way of punishment were placed amongst the lower classes, and in part to the employment of prisoners of war in menial capacities. In those remote times, since duties were hereditary, a son succeeding to his father's office and transmitting it to his own son, it resulted that when a man had once been degraded into the slave class, he could not rise again from it without great difficulty. Class distinctions were carried so far that intermarriages did not take place between persons of different grades. Commoners were regarded as the property of aristocrats, and were bought and sold at the will of the latter.

## CHAPTER III.

## *From the Taikwa Reformation to the close of the Heian Era.*

### SECTION. I.

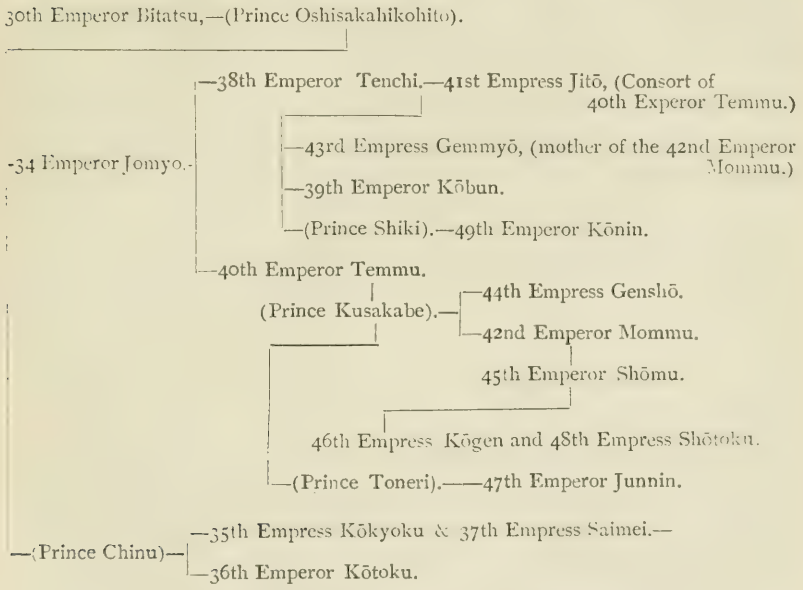
### *The Taikwa Reformation.*

During the centuries that succeeded the first establishment of the Empire, numerous political reforms took place. Conspicuous amongst these are three : the *Taikwa Reformation*, the rise of the Shōgun system of government, and the Imperial Restoration of *Meiji*. We proceed to speak of these three great historical incidents.

It has been shown above that during the early centuries, while the families of Soga, Mononobe, and other great territorial magnates wielded administrative power, the Imperial authority suffered more or less curtailment. In the course of time, however, these great families began to fight amongst themselves for the ascendency, with the result that the Mononobe family was overthrown, and the Soga became supreme. These latter soon began to abuse the position they had attained. They went so far as to deprive the Imperial Court of all administrative authority, thus by degrees provoking the enmity of sovereign and subject alike. Happily at this critical epoch there existed among the officials of the Imperial Court, a Prince of great ability and chivalrousness named Naka-no-ōye, and among the Emperor's subjects, men of profound loyalty and courage like Nakatomi-no-Kamatari and his associates. These founded a league and overthrew the Soga family, the administrative power being again placed in the hands of the Emperor. This event occurred in the fourth year after the coronation

of the Emperor Kōkyoku (645 A. D.). In the same year, the Emperor abdicated in favour of his brother Kōtoku, and Prince Naka-no-ōye, the heir-apparent, presided over administrative affairs.

TABLE SHOWING LINEAGE OF SOVEREIGNS.




CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF SOVEREIGNS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 36th Emperor Kōtoku, 645-655. | 43rd Empress Gemmyō, 708-715 |
| 37th Empress Saimei, 655-668. | 44th Empress Genshō, 715-724 |
| 38th Emperor Tenchi, 668-672. | 45th Empress Shōmu, 724-749 |
| 39th Emperor Kōbun, 672-673. | 46th Empress Kōgen, 749-759 |
| 40th Emperor Temmu, 673-690. | 47th Emperor Junnin, 759-765. |
| 41st Empress Jitō, 690-697. | 48th Emperor Shōtoku, 765-770 |
| 42nd Emperor Mommu, 697-708. | 49th Emperor Kōnin, 770-782. |

Although the territorial magnates who had usurped administrative power were thus overthrown, and the Imperial authority was effectively restored, the people were dissatisfied at finding the administrative laws incomplete. These laws, in truth, had undergone little alteration during thirteen

centuries, nor had effectual steps been taken to prevent the growth of abuses in the central and local government. It became necessary, therefore, that a programme of extensive reform should be elaborated, and Prince Naka-no-ōye undertook the task. He commenced by strengthening the organition of the Central Government. To this end, the headships of Ōomi and Ōmuraji were abolished, and three new offices were established, namely, Ministers of the Left and Right and a Minister of the Interior. The first occupants of these positions were Abe-no-Kurahashimaro, Yamada-no-Ishikawa-maro of the Soga family, and Nakatomi-no-Kamatari, respectively, who thus became charged with the chief administrative functions. These men showed great loyalty and zeal and cöoperated with the Heir Apparent in carrying out his programme of reform. In the year of these memorable events, the name of the era was for the first time fixed. It was called "*Taikwa*." Hence the reforms then effected are known in history as the *Taikwa* Reformation. In establishing a system of eras, the Chinese method was adopted. China was at that time under the *Tang* dynasty, the Sui Sovereigns having been overthrown, and the civilization of the great Empire had attained such a high stage of development as to attract keen attention from the people of Japan. It resulted that many of the reforms then and subsequently introduced in Japan were based on Chinese models, just as the reformation effected in the Meiji era was conducted in great part on the lines of Occidental civilization. The *Taikwa* era commenced with the 1305th year of Japanese history and the 645th year of the western calendar. In the fifth year of the era, a white pheasant, captured in the province of Anato, was presented to the Emperor. This event being regarded as an omen of good fortune, the name of the era was changed to *Hakuchi* (white

pheasant.) This was the first alteration of year-period. Subsequently it a becamecommon, custom to change the name of an eraso that, during the lapse of 1247 years, we find no less than 229 different eras.

The *Taikwa* reforms were commenced in the reign of Kōtoku and carried far towards completion under that Sovereign. But their consummation must be referred to the 4th year of the Emperor Mommu, when various bodies of law were promulgated. It may be said that the period of this great revolution extended over six reigns, or 56 years. Detailed reference will be hereafter made to the laws of the Emperor Mommu's time. Here the leading features of the reforms will alone be stated :—

### *1. Rules relating to the Census.*

By the provisions of the original laws matters relating to division of the people by family ranks, to titles for offical appointments, and so forth, had been regulated. Families possessing the names Omi, Muraji, Tomonomiyatsuko, Kuninomiyatsuko, and so forth, were classed either as noble or as aristocratic, while people occupying menial positions or being in the employment of others were called *semmin*, or inferiors. This distinction was strictly observed at first, but as years went by the line of division gradually became less distinct : the upper classess ceased to receive the same measure of respect from the lower, and were even confronted, on occasion, by open resistance on the part of the latter. One of the motives of the *Taikwa* reforms was to introduce order into matters connected with the census, so that differences of sex and age might be recorded for purposes of taxation, but above all to the end that the

various families, their chief branches, and their offshoots, might be distinguished. Thenceforth the higher and the lower classes were plainly divided. The census taken in the ninth year of the reign of Tenchi became, under the name of *Kōgo-Nenseki*, the standard during many years. A century and a half later, in the days of the Emperor Saga, Imperial instructions were given to Prince Mata in the sense that not only family names but also personal should thenceforth be registered, and that the people of the realm should be classified into those who traced their descent from the deities, those who belonged to the Imperial lineage, and those of foreign origin. This was termed the threefold classification. Its basis was the respect paid to noble families.

### 2. *Agrarian Measures,*

During the years prior to the *Taikwa* era, families distinguished by possession of the titles Omi, Muraji, Kuninomiyatsuko and so forth, abused the influence of their office to extend their territorial estates, whereas, on the other hand, it was not competent for a commoner to own a plot of land however small. Between the rich and the poor stood a wide interval. The framers of the *Taikwa* reforms deemed it necessary, in view of this state of affairs, to interdict private sales of land, in the sequel of which veto all lands in the possession of private individuals were confiscated by the State and registered as public property, various rules being at the same time established for the control of such lands and their distribution among the people. According to the provitions of the new rules, every male on attaining the age of six, received 2 *tan* of land (half of an English acre, approximately), and every

female two-third of it, areas thus conferred being, however, resumed by the State every six years for the purpose of redistribution. Thenceforth a feature of the national system was that private property in land had no legal recognition, and such a thing as encroachment upon the estate occupied by another became altogether exceptional. Even in the days when feudalism flourished under the Tokugawa family, although the Shōgun himself and the feudal barons were the practical owners of extensive tracts, these were still publicly included in the denomination of lands temporarily rented from the Government. The marked distinction originally made between the upper and the lower classes in respect of the distribution of land, thus became a thing of the past, though the right of private property in real estate was not legally recognised until the *Meiji* era, when, under the restored Imperial administration, people of all classes were allowed to own land.

### *3. Measures relating to Taxation.*

Taxes were divided into three kinds. One of these, called *so*, was levied upon land. The method of assessment was to fix the annual produce of two *tan* (half of an English acre, approximately) of rice land at 100 sheaves, 8 of which —4 large and 4 small—were taken as tax. This was at the rate of 2,2 *to* (1.28 bushels approximately) per 5 *koku* (25.65 bushels), or 4,4 per cent. of the gross produce. Of the other two kinds of taxes one was called *yō* and the other *chō*. The nature of these imposts was complicated. Roughly speaking, the former may be regarded as a species of corvée. After a man attained the age of twenty-one, he was required to perform ten days public work annually, which service, however, he was at liberty to commute for

one piece of cloth *(nuno)*. The second tax *(chō)* was levied on silk, fish, cloth, and generally speaking on objects produced or obtained in considerable quantities. The proceeds of the rice-tax were applied to defray the expenses of local administration, while the outlay of the Central Government was met by the proceeds of the two other taxes, *yō* and *chō* and a part of the rice-tax.

### 4. *Reform of Local Administration.*

Changes of boundary were effected under the new system. The method of linear measurement adopted was to call the space occupied by fifty houses one *ri*, the size of a district varying with the greater or less extent of a *ri*. The empire in those days comprised 58 provinces *(Kuni)* and over 500 districts *(Kōri)*, covering a total area of 13,000 *ri*, the *ri* being computed as above. Along the principal roads relays of post horses were maintained for public service. Every person travelling for public service in the interior was required, by law, to carry a hand-bell *(suzu)*, and a document (called *warifu*) of the nature of a passport. At important places guard-houses *(sekisho)* were established, with duly appointed look-outs *(sekikō)* and garrisons *(sakimori)* for preserving order. Government business was transacted in the provinces under the control of officials called *Kokushi*, *(Kami, Suke, Jō, Sakwan)*, and in the districts under that of *Gunshi*, *(Tairyō, Shōryō, Shusei*, and *Shuchō)*. Persons who had for some time held the rank of *kuninomiyatzuko*, and had displayed ability in the discharge of their duties, appear to have been appointed, for the most part, to the post of *Gunshi*. Changes were subsequently effected in the provinces and districts, some being amalgamated and others separated, with the result that

there came to be 5 *ki*, 7 *dō*, 66 *kuni*, (provinces) and over 700 *kōri* (districts) in the whole empire, which state of affairs continued until the begining of the *Meiji* era.

### 5. *Administrative Organization.*

The *Taikwa* system, as we have seen, allotted the functions of the central administration to three principal officials, namely, the Ministers of the Left, of the Right, and of the Interior; but this organization subsequently underwent considerable modification, two *Kwan* (or highest offices), three *kyoku* (bureaux), and eight sections being created.

The eight Departments of the Administration were the Department of Records *(Nakatsukasa)*, the Department of Ceremonies *(Shikibu)*, the Department of Administration *(Jibu)*, the Department of Home Affairs *(Mimbu)*, the Department of Military Affairs *(Hyōbu)*, the Department of Justice *(Kyōbu)*, the Department of Finance *(Ōkura)*, and the Department of the Imperial Household *(Kunai)*. Each Department comprised Bureauxs (distinguished as *Shoku*, *Ryō*, and *Shi*), between which the Department were distributed. In consequence of the great reverence paid to the deities, the office *(Jingi-kwan)* charged with the management of affairs relating to national festivals, divination, and religious ceremonials in general, held the first rank in the Government.

The Administrative organization having been thus determined, steps were taken to make suitable selection of *personnel* for the various official posts, and in connection with this a body of rules (called *Kōkwa Senjo*) was compiled,

fixing the ranks of officials of all kinds. The system of selection by merit was in this manner substituted for that of hereditary succession. But the change did not find complete expression in practice. Noble families, though nominally deprived of exclusive official privileges, still benefited by the conservation of custom. One difficulty lying in the path of radical reform was that, on the occasion of the division of the people into eight classes in the time of the Emperor Temmu, those whose lineage could not be clearly traced were declared ineligible for official positions, and tradition could not easily consent in later time to forget this disability. In the third year of the *Taikwa* era the whole body of officialdom was divided into thirteen ranks (of which the highest was termed *Taishokkwan*), the ranks being distinguished by the "seven colours." But this arrangement had little permanency. Repeated revisions were effected, and when, at a subsequent era, the code of laws called the *Taihōryō* was promulgated, we find four different ranks of Imperial Princes, while the Prince of more remote consanguinity were distributed among fourteen ranks, and the subjects of the realm formed an organization of no less than thirty different ranks. Up to this time it had been the custom to distinguish illustrious persons by conferring on them a peculiar head-dress (called *Kammuri*), but the method was thenceforth changed, and regular patents of rang were granted.

Such were the principal features of the *Taikwa* reforms. Moreover, the Government did not confine itself to the realm of enactment. Instructions of an admonitory character were issued with the view of improving the manners and customs of the agricultural classes. Diligence in the pursuit of their occupations, economy, integrity,

exclusion of mercenary motives from contracts of marriage, simplicity of funeral rites, persistence in habits of industry even during periods of mourning—such were the virtues recommended to farmers by official proclamation. At the same time, in order to establish contact between the ruling classes and the ruled, boxes were set up a various places wherein the people were invited to deposit any statement of grievances from which they suffered, and it was provided that a man who desired to bring a complaint speedily to the notice of the Authorities should ring a bell hung in a public building.

On the decease of the Emperor Kōtoku, after a reign of ten years, the previous Empress, Kōkyoku, re-assumed the sceptre under the name of Saimei. This was the first instance of a Sovereign occupying the Throne twice. Prince Naka-no-ōye, who throughout both reigns had remained Heir Apparent, succeeded the Empress Saimei under the name of Tenchi. This Sovereign, who before ascending the Throne had greatly distinguished himself, is not noted for any conspicuous deeds while in possession of the sceptre. Throughout his reign the country enjoyed profound internal tranquillity. Its foreign affairs, however, assumed a complexion worthy of special notice, and shall be independently sketched in the pages immediately following.

## SECTION II.

### *Enlargement and Reduction of the Dominions of Japan. (Subjugation of the Ezo Aborigines and abandonment of Korea.)*

In early times the eastern and northern regions of Japan were occupied by a race whom the ruling class re-

garded as and designated barbarians *(Ebisu)*. But after the campaign of Prince Yamatodakeru these autocthons became comparatively loyal, and the districts inhabited by them underwent considerable development. In the northern island of Ezo, however, the Imperial sway received only partial acknowledgment. Such of the aborigines as dwelt in regions adjacent to the main island gave allegiance and paid tribute to the Emperor, but those living in the more remote provinces, and known as Ara-Ebisu and Tsugaru-Ebisu, often raised the standard of revolt. On these occasion the insurgent autocthons generally had the sympathy and support of their kinsmen, the northern rebels, just as in earlier times, the Kumaso, the autocthons of the South and West, habitually espoused the cause of Korea in any conflict between the latter and Japan. Hence the Government always found itself compelled to undertake a dual campaign in times of trouble with either the island on the north or the peninsula on the west. The difficulties of this state of affairs dictated the establishment of fortresses to impose a permanent check on the autocthons. Hence, in the reign of Kōtoku (645-655), forts were built at Nutari and Iwafune in Echigo, and garrisoned by the people of that provinces and of Shinano, for the purpose of holding the aborigines of Ezo in control. The unsettled condition of these outlying districts may be further inferred from an enactment contemporaneous with the great *Taikwa* reforms. For whereas a general interdict was then issued against the unauthorized possession of arms and armour by private persons, dwellers in the remote parts of the east were exempted from this prohibition on the ground of their liability to attack. During the years 658-660 of the Emperor Saimei's reign, Abe-no-Hirafu, a distinguished governor of the Koshi provinces (Echigo, and Uzen), conducted very

successful campaigns against the autocthons of Ezo, breaking their power and destroying their vessels of war. Subsequently, the same captain led a fleet of 200 war-ships to Watarijima (now Hokkaido) against the aborigines. He invaded Manchuria, at the head of a force of the autocthons of Ezo (the Ainu), and thus cut off the source from which the insurgents had usually derived succour. The result of this campaign was that the Ebisu were, for the most part, brought into subjection, and functionaries called *Gunryō* were posted at Shiribeshi in the northern island. But the lands over-run by the Japanese forces being far from the centre of government, their inhabitants did not appreciate the advantages of the Emperor's beneficent sway. Frequent insurrection took place, and finally it was found necessary to build a castle—the Castle of Taga *(Taga-jō)*—where a strong force of soldiers was maintained to preserve order. Another castle also was erected in Akita to provide against invasions by the aborigines, and more than one expedition on a large scale was organized against them under the command of generalissimos *(Shōgun)* upon whom the duty of guarding the northern and eastern marches devolved. It was not until the 15th year of the *Enryaku* era (796 A.D.), during the reign of the Emperor Kwammu, that these autocthons were effectually brought into subjection. The campaign against them at that time was directed by a renowned captain, Sakanoue-Tamuramaro, who, at the head of a great army, penetrated to the limits of the rebellious districts, slaughtering all that refused to surrender. This general's exploits were second only to those of his predecessor Abe-no-Hirafu. Not only was the sway of the Imperial Court thus extended to the east and north, but in the south also various islands.—Tokwara, Tane, Yaku, Amami,

Toku, and so forth—lying off the coasts of Satsuma and Ōsumi, were added to the Japanese dominions. On the west, however, a less favourable state of affairs existed. From the time of Korea's conquest by the Empress Jingō, that kingdom occupied the rank of a tributary State, in which capacity it did not fail to send annual tribute. Moreover, it conferred no small benefit on its Suzerain by contributing to the latter's material and moral civilization. Nevertheless, the interval that separated the two countries rendered communication difficult, and although Japan established a branch government in Korea at a place called Mimana, the Koreans, relying upon the distance of the latter from head-quarters, frequently acted in a rebellious manner. During an interval of 460 years after the invasion of the Empress Jingō, no less than thirty instances are recorded when the Koreans either failed to send tribute, or insulted Japanese envoys, or broke into open revolt. On every one of these occasions Japan sent embassies to demand explanation and redress, or re-asserted her supremacy by force of arms. Shiragi in those days stood at the head of the districts into which Korea was divided, and in the 23rd year (562) of the reign of the Emperor Kimmei, the people of Shiragi rose against Mimana and succeeded in expelling the Japanese officials and obtaining possession of the place. This disaster weighed greatly on the mind of the Emperor Kimmei. The last behest uttered by him on his death-bed was that Mimana should be recovered. In obedience to his dying wish, a great army was collected and sent against Shiragi. But success did not crown the Japanese arms. Not only was it found impossible to reduce Shiragi, but even the maintenance of the local government at Mimana proved a task beyond the military strength of the time. Thenceforth, therefore, the recovery of Mimana

became an object upon which Japan'a attention was constantly concentrated. During the *Taikwa* era China fell under the powerful sway of the Tang dynasty, and the people of Shiragi, relying on Chinese assistance, conceived the project of bringing under their rule the neighbouring district of Kudara. Reduced to extremities, Kudara, in the 15th year of the Empress Saimei's reign (660 A.D.) sent envoys seeking succour from Japan. After considerable discussion it was resolved that, in consideration of this request, measures should be organized for the invasion of Shiragi. Great preparations were set on foot. The Sovereign herself proceeded to Tsukushi and thence superintended the despatch of a fleet of a hundred war vessels under the command of Azumi-no-Hirafu, whose instructions were to attack Shiragi and rescue Kudara. But the latter was found to be in a helpless condition. Invaded simultaneously by the forces of China and Shiragi, it was also torn by internal dissensions, and could not co-operate in any effective manner with the Japanese navy, which consequently withdrew, leaving Kudara to its inevitable fate. The final fall of Kudara occurred in the second year of the Emperor Tenchi's reign (670), and a few years later the third Korean district of Koma was also defeated by China. Shiragi subsequently sent occasional tribute to Japan, but was never afterwards included in the Japanese dominions. The Emperor Tenchi, reviewing the history of his country's relations with Korea, seems to have arrived at the definite conclusion that Japan's true policy was to abandon all idea of recovering Kudara, and to devote her energies solely to organizing measures of defence against foreign attack. He accordingly adopted every possible means of promoting military efficiency. During his reign the Emperor of China sent an envoy named Riutokukō to the Court of

Japan, and the latter country despatched an embassy in return, so that the two empires were brought into friendly relations.

Summarizing the above events, it may be briefly stated that during the reigns of the Empress Saimei and Emperor Tenchi, the extent of the Japanese dominions suffered reduction in the west, but received an increment in the east and north. The Emperor Tenchi's resolve to abandon Japan's conquests in Korea did not escape the criticism of subsequent generations, but, on the whole, in view of the great expenditure of life and treasure involved in maintaining her hold on the peninsula, Japan must be judged to have adopted not only the more prudent but also the more civilized policy when she decided to leave Korea in peace and establish amicable relations with China.

## SECTION III.

### *Trouble in connection with the Imperial Succession.*

In the eighth year of the Emperor Tench's reign Nakatomi-no-Kamatari died. He had been raised by his Sovereign to the position of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and had received the family name of Fujiwara, in recognition of his meritorious services. Kamatari was a man of thorough loyalty and integrity. His zeal in the Emperor's service was unflagging, and he showed great ability in framing useful laws and regulations, so that, after his decease, people spoke of him as a model of fidelity. Two years later, the Emperor himself died, leaving behind him a reputation for good government that posterity fully recognised. More than a century later the

Emperor Kwammu promulgated a law dispensing with the observance of religious ceremonies on the anniversaries of the deaths of Sovereigns deceased at remote periods. But the sentiment of the nation did not permit the application of this rule to the case of the Emperor Tenchi. Long after his decease, his memory continued to be periodically honoured. Yet he had scarcely been laid to rest when a serious disturbance took place with reference to his successor. In accordance with the general rule of primogeniture followed in Japan, the Sovereignty was succeeded to by the eldest Prince of the Blood with almost unvarying regularity during the thirteen generations from the Emperor Jimmu to Seimu; and throughout the thirty-two generations from Jimmu to Sujun no female held the sceptre, for although Jingō administrated the Government during an interval of 69 years, she did not take the title of Empress. The accession of the Empress Suiko was due to exceptional circumstances, and did not mark a recognised departure from the old rule. Subsequently, however, not a few instances occurred of the sceptre falling into the hands of an uncle or niece of a deceased Emperor, and on these occasions more or less disquiet accompanied the event. But no disturbance connected with such a cause attained anything like the dimensions of the trouble that followed Tenchi's death. On the occasion of the Emperor's visit to Tsukushi to make arrangements for the invasion of Korea, he entrusted the administration of affairs in Kyōto during his absence to his younger brother, Prince Ōama, and caused the Heir Apparent, Prince Ōtomo, to accompany him to Tsukushi. Prince Ōtomo, though young in years, had already given evidence of great capacity and was exceptionally learned. The Sovereign entertained a strong affection for him, and after returning from Tsukushi

raised him to the position of Prime Minister. The relations between the Emperor and his brother, Prince Ōama, were at the time of an unfriendly character, but no account of the cause of the troubles has been preserved. It is only recorded that the Emperor, falling sick and perceiving the dangerous character of his malady, would fain have entrusted the administration of affairs after his death to Prince Ōama, but the latter, pretexting ill health, declined the responsibility. The Prince Imperial was consequently proclaimed successor to the Throne, and Ōama, causing his head to be shaved after the manner of a man who had entered the priesthood, went into retirement on Mount Yoshino, partly for the purpose of praying for the soul of the deceased Emperor, but partly also to dispel the suspicion with which the public regarded his acts. None the less, it was the common talk of the time that Ōama's retirement to Yoshino was as the letting loose of a tiger on a moor. Twice over the Ministers of State took the oath of allegiance to Prince Ōtomo, but rivalry and evil feeling continued to grew between the partizans of the new Sovereign and those of Prince Ōama. In the end a state of open hostilities resulted. Prince Ōama rapidly retiring to the eastern provinces, obtained possession of all the strategical positions, and was followed by large numbers of adherents. The Emperor despatched an army against the insurgents, and engagements took place in Mino, Ōmi and Yamato, but on every occasion the Imperial forces were routed, and the eastern army gradually pushed on to Ōtsu in Shiga. A final and desperate stand was made by the Emperor's troops in the Seta district, but the battle ended in their total rout, and the Sovereign himself, escaping from the field, committed suicide at Yamazaki, dying at the age of twenty-five after a reign of only eight months. This

Emperor's is known in history as Kōbun. Prince Ōama succeeded to the Throne under the name of Temmu. He had obtained the sceptre under circumstances that invite censure, but as a ruler he showed high qualities, carrying on the administration with zeal and ability, and elaborating an accurate system of Court etiquette. He despatched inspectors to all districts throughout the realm in order to acquire full knowledge of local affairs, and he raised the military establishment to a state of high proficiency. On his death the Princess Uno-no-Sasara, daughter of the Emperor Tenchi and sister of the Emperor Kōbun, succeeded to the Throne as the Empress Jitō. In the third year of her reign the Heir Apparent, Prince Kusakabe, died. The Empress convoked a council of all the high dignitaries of State to determine a successor to the Prince, but they could not come to any agreement until Prince Kadono advanced the principle that only when neither son nor grandson was available to succeed to the Throne, the sceptre should pass to the brothers and sisters of the Sovereign in due order, since by no other means could fatal disputes be avoided. The outcome was that Karu, son of the late Prince Kusakabe, was proclaimed Heir Apparent. He subsequently ascended the Throne as the Emperor Mommu.

## SECTION IV.

### *The compilation and promulgation of the Code of Laws called the Taihōryō.*

The Emperor Mommu was a Sovereign of great magnanimity and erudition. In his time Court etiquette had been carried to a state of high development. It is recorded that when he visited the Daigoku-den Palace to

receive the congratulations of his subjects on New Year's Day, in the first and second years of the *Taihō* era (701-702 A.D.), the Prince of the Blood, the Ministers of State, and other dignitaries wore, for the first time, duly prescribed official uniforms, foreign ambassadors being also present, and the whole ceremonial being conducted with the greatest punctiliousness and pomp. Thenceforth the rules of Court ceremonies may be regarded as clearly established.

In the second year of the *Taihō* era (702 A.D.) the Emperor caused a body of laws to be promulgated which are known in history as the Taihō Statutes. In ancient days the empire had no code of written laws. It is true that the Seventeen Articles of Prince Shōtoku's Constitution have been regarded as the first Japanese statutes. But these differed essentially from enactments to which the character of law attached according to subsequent standards. Sixty-five years after the issue of Prince Shōtoku's Constitution, that is to say, in the first year of the Emperor Tenchi's reign, the Sovereign instructed Nakatomi-no-Kamatari to assemble the learned men of the time and proceed to compile a body of laws. The result of these jurists' labours was a Code comprised in twelve volumes, wherein new laws were enacted and the old laws that had been in operation from the time of the Emperor Kōtoku, were modified. The Imperial capital being then at Ōtsu in Ōmi, these laws were called "the Statutes of the Ōmi Government." Doubtless they owed their compilation to the fact that legal reform was felt to be a necessary sequel of the great administrative changes which had just been completed. Frequent revisions of this body of laws were subsequently effected, but as defects still remained, the Emperor Mommu directed Prince Osakabe, son of the Emperor Temmu, and Fujiwara

Fubito, son of Kamatari, to undertake a thorough revision of the Ōmi Statutes and throw them into the form of a new Code. This task having been completed in the second year of the *Taihō* era (702 A.D.), the revised code was promulgated. Its compilers had taken for bases the laws of the Tang Dynasty of China, modifying them in accordance with the ancient customs and traditional usages of the Japanese nation. Afterwards, in the second year of the *Yōrō* era (718 A.D.), these laws were supplemented and abbreviated, and their ideography having been corrected, they, were transmitted to posterity in their present form. The Code consists of thirty chapters comprised in ten volumes, the headings of the chapters being as follow :—

1.—Laws relating to Official Ranks.
2.—Laws relating to the Official Establishment.
3.—Laws relating to the Establishment of the Empress' Household.
4.—Laws relating to the Establishment of the Prince Imperial's Household.
5.—Laws relating to the Establishment of Prince's Households.
6.—Laws relating to the Service of the Deities.
7.—Laws relating to Priests and Nuns.
8.—Laws relating to the Census.
9.—Laws relating to Rice Lands.
10.—Laws relating to Taxation.
11.—Laws relating to Education.
12.—Laws relating to Promotion and Dismissal of Officials.
13.—Laws relating to Succession.
14.—Laws relating to Official Appointments.
15.—Laws relating to Emoluments.
16.—Laws relating to the Guarding of the Palace.

17.—Laws relating to Military defences.
18.—Laws relating to Ceremonies.
19.—Laws relating to Costumes.
20.—Laws relating to Building and Repairs.
21.—Laws relating to Public Etiquette, &c.
22.—Laws relating to Warehouses.
23.—Laws relating to Stables and Pasturage.
24.—Laws relating to Terapeutics.
25.—Laws relating to Official Recesses.
26.—Laws relating to Funerals.
27.—Laws relating to Markets and Guard Houses.
28.—Laws relating to Arrest of Absconders.
29.—Laws relating to Prisons.
30.—Laws relating to Miscellaneous Matters.

The above constituted the section of the Code designated *Ryō;* that is to say, the section containing admonitions and prohibitions. Within its sphere were included all matters relating to official organization, to education and to civil law generally, its provisions consequently being numerous and minute. Another section of the Code was termed *Ritsu.* This dealt chiefly with penalties for the infraction of laws. In other words, it comprised a body of criminal statutes designed to punish wrong-doing and enforce the duty of self-restraint. The latter section also was comprised in ten volumes, divided into twelve chapters, namely :—

1.—Laws relating to Names.
2.—Laws relating to Court Prohibitions.
3.—Laws relating to Professions and Occupations.
4.—Laws relating to Census and Marriage.
5.—Laws relating to Mews and Warehouses.
6.—Laws relating to Misdemeanours, &c.

7.—Laws relating to Brigands and Burglars.
8.—Laws relating to Complaints and Disputes.
9.—Laws relating to Frauds.
10.—Laws relating to Miscellaneous Matters.
11.—Laws relating to Arrest of Absconders.
12.—Laws relating to Justice and Prisons.

In ancient times the people's manner of life being very primitive, instances of theft or dispute were rare, and the measures employed to expiate offences were correspondingly simple, those chiefly resorted to being religious purification and fines. Capital punishment, however, came into vogue at an early date in cases of murder or robbery with violence. By degrees, as men's relations and affairs became more complicated, recourse was had to such punishments as scourging, penal servitude, and transportation. Sometimes, when an appeal was made to a court of law to settle a point in dispute, the question was decided by the ordeal of boiling water; that is to say, the litigants were invited to plunge their hands into boiling water, those that escaped without scatch being held to have right on their side. But in the majority of cases the whole circumstances of an affair received careful investigation, and judgment was pronounced according to the facts elicited. Not until the promulgation of the Taihō Code did any written body of criminal laws exist, and of the twelve chapters comprised in the Second Section of the Code only four now survive, the rest having been lost in the course of successive wars and tumults. It is nevertheless possible to deduce from these four chapters a general idea of the character of the laws. The penalties prescribed were five, namely, capital punishment, exile, penal servitude, beating (with a stick) and scourging (with a whip). These,

again, were divided into twenty grades according to the nature of the crime committed. Treason, contumely, unfilial conduct, immorality, and so forth, being counted most detestable, were called the eight great crimes. The law also provided that in the case of persons of conspicuous virtue or ability, persons who had performed meritorious deeds, and persons who held important offices, the Emperor might either remit or commute their punishment. Complaints had to be brought before local Governors through district offices, and in the event of a Governor's award being deemed unjust, appeal was allowed to the Department of Justice, and thence to the Cabinet itself or to the Department of Records.

Subsequently to the promulgation of the Taihō Code, Imperial Ordinances were often issued, either for the purpose of enacting supplementary laws, where the provisions of the Code were insufficient, or for the purpose of modifying such provisions as were found unsuited to the time, or for the purpose of providing regulations to control the discharge of official functions and to direct the conduct of ceremonials to which distinct reference did not occur in the Code. During the *Kōnin* era of the Emperor Saga's reign, the *Jōgwan* era of the Emperor Seiwa's reign, and the *Engi* era of the Emperor Daigo's reign, the work of collecting and compiling these supplementary laws and regulations was steadily carried on, the resulting assemblage of articles being designated "The Laws and Regulations of the Three Reigns." Throughout the interval that elapsed from the establishment of the Imperial Court at Nara until the latter years of its residence at Heian, these laws and regulations were in full operation, all official and social affairs and ceremonial matters being arranged in accordance with

their provisions. They formed a constant subject of study, especially with the jurists of the day, and in the third year of the *Tenchō* era (826 A.D.) the Emperor Junna directed the Minister of the Right, Kiyowara-no-Kanu, and others to prepare a commentary on their text, which has been transmitted to posterity under the name of the "Ryō-no-gige." Subsequently, however, as the creed of Buddhism gained increased influence, the Code and its Supplementary Laws were frequently subjected to religious interference, and finally, with the decline of the Imperial power, they ceased, for the most part, to be operative.

## SECTION V.

*The Prosperity of the Nara Epoch.—The Spread of Buddhism.—The Progress of Art and Industly.—Learning —Literature.*

The Emperor Mommu died at the age of twenty-five, and was succeeded by his mother Gemmyō; his elder sister Genshō and his son Shōmu subsequently occupying the Throne in that order. While the Empress Gemmyō reigned, Nara in Yamato was made the seat of Government —in the third year of the Wadō era (710 A.D.)—and the Imperial Palace, as well as the Left and Right halves of the city were built there with much state, the place being thenceforth known as *Heijō* (castle of tranquillity). The interval of seventy-five years from that date, comprising the reigns of seven successive Sovereigns, is called in history the "Nara Epoch," an epoch worthy of special reference because of the prosperity then enjoyed by the Imperial Family and because of the development of civilization that

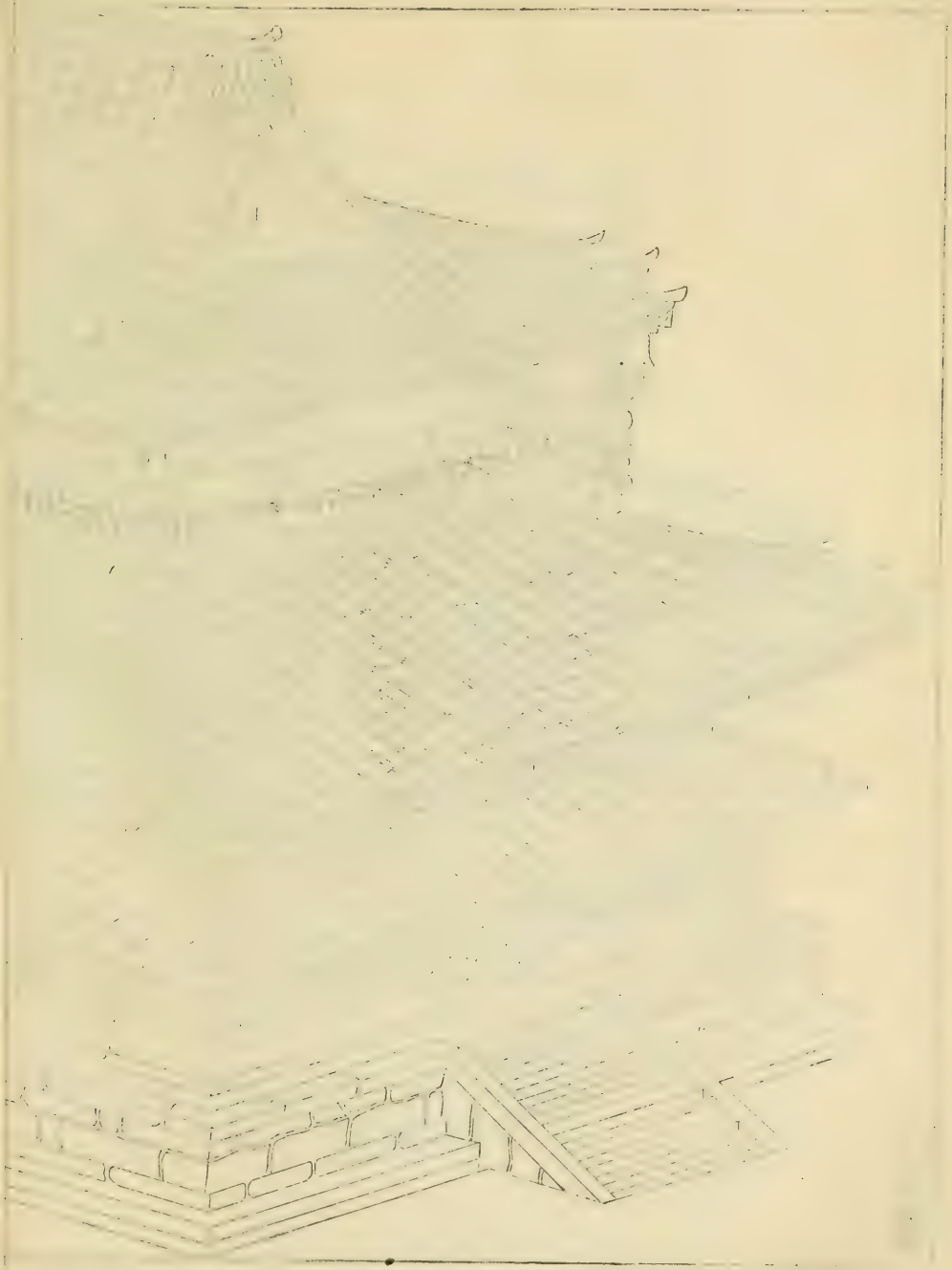
took place. Under the sway of the Emperors Tenchi and Temmu, the power of the Throne had already increased considerably, and the ability of Mommu and his immediate successors contributed materially to raise the Imperial prestige, no little assistance being derived from Prince Kusakabe, Heir Apparent during Temmu's reign, as well as other Princes of the Blood, Osakabe, Hozumi, and Toneri, who occupied the highest posts in the Administration with conspicuous talent. All these were sons of the Emperor Temmu. In the same category of able Ministers must be placed the Princes Nagayaō and Tachibana-no-Moroye. Another most distinguished official was Fujiwara-no-Fubito, who held office under four successive Sovereigns, Jitō, Mommu, Gemmyō, and Genshō, enjoying the confidence and affection of all. This Minister's sons, Muchimaro, Fusasaki, Umakai, and Maro, also occupied prominent posts, and became respectively the founders of the Nan, Hoku, Skiki, and Kyō families of nobility. It should be noted that *pari passù* with the growth of the power of the Throne, the influence of the Fujiwara family grew also.

Among the events of the Nara Epoch, none is more worthy of note than the marked spread of Buddhism. This result may be attributed, first, to the profound faith placed in the faith by the Imperial Court, and, secondly, to the exertions of priests of high talent who laboured in the cause of their creed with remarkable zeal and tact. Ever since the days of the Emperor Kimmei, when Buddhism was brought to Japan, its progress had been sure and strong, despite all opposition, until there came a time when the Emperor Temmu went so far as to order that every private house should have an alter for the worship of the Buddha. Subsequent Sovereigns caused copies of the

Sutras to be made and idols to be graved for all the provinces of the realm; and the Emperor Shōmu supplemented those measures by an edict requiring that provincial temples *(Kokubunji)* should everywhere be built for the priests and nuns. The ruling classes contributed liberally to the support of these places of worship, it being generally believed that by such means individual prosperity and national tranquillity could be secured. A huge image of Buddha—the "Birushanabutsu,"—fifty-three feet high, was made of copper and gold, during the Nara Epoch, and survives to this day in the temple where it was originally placed, the Tōdai-ji, at Nara. It is also on record that the Emperor Shōmu adopted the tonsure and took a Buddhist appellation. The mother of that Sovereign, Miyako, and his consort, Kōmyō,—both daughters of Fujiwara Fubito,—were most zealous devotees of Buddhism, and with their cöoperation the Sovereign established in Nara a charity hospital, where the poor received medical treatment and drugs *gratis*, and an asylum for the support of the destitute. Measures were also taken to rescue foundlings, and in general to relieve poverty and distress. Nothing could exceed the devotion shown by the Imperial personages towards Buddhism, and if they won the plaudits of the priests and promoted the cause of the creed, they also incurred the criticism of later generations; criticism certainly not without just bases in the facts that great sums were expended for building temples and graving idols, and that the laws of the land were subserved to the interests of religion. Among the subjects of the realm we find instances such as those of Kamatari and Fubito, of whom the former, built a temple and made his eldest son take orders, and the latter erected the temple of Kōfuku-ji and endowed it as the place of worship of the Fujiwara family. Many similar proofs might

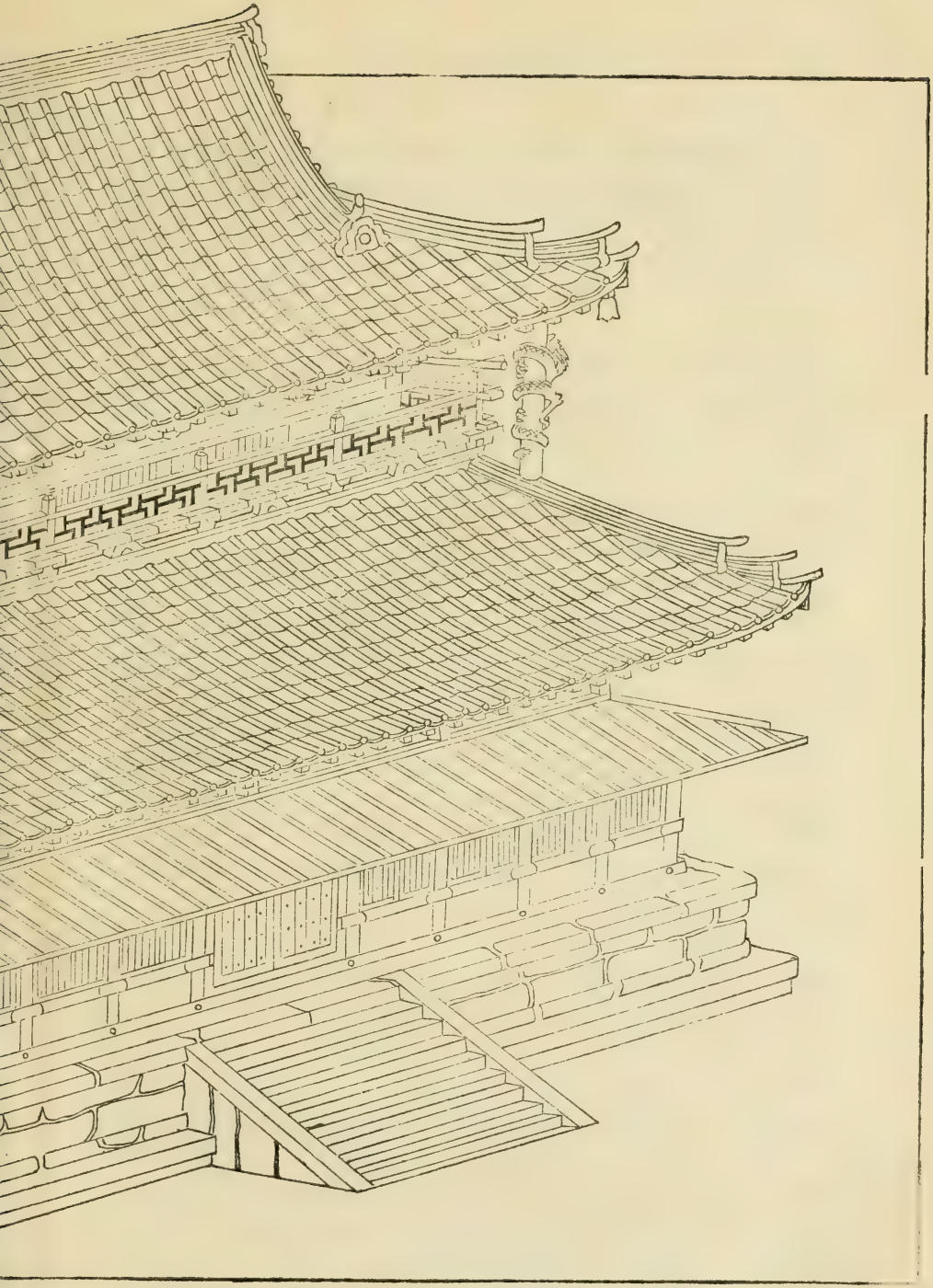
be adduced of the extreme reverence in which the faith was held by the nation.

Among the priests of high rank, one whose name has been transmitted to posterity was Gyōki. He began to be famous in the reign of the Empress Genshō, and having won the confidence and respect of the next Sovereign, Shōmu, he attained the rank of *Daisōjō* (archbishop) and was subsequently worshipped as a saint under the title of "Bosatsu." It was by this prelate that the doctrine of successive incarnations of the Buddh was first enunciated, a doctrine whose skilful application greatly served the cause of Buddhism. For though the creed obtained such influence and success in the times now under consideration, its universal acceptance by the people encountered a strong obstacle in their traditional belief that the Shintō deities themselves had founded the State, bequeathed its sceptre to their posterity, and prescribed a creed with which the very existence of the nation was bound up. This difficulty, however, the Buddhist priests adroitly met by the aid of the doctrine that Gyōki taught. For they explained that the Deiess Amaterasu had been only an incarnation of Birushanabutsu, and further, that all the deities of the land were simply the Buddh himself, one god in various human forms. By this adroit reasoning they dispelled the inherited prejudices of the people and gave a great impulse to the spread of their creed. Gyōki, Dōshō, Ryōben, and others acquired notable influence with the masses, and, aided by their pupils, preached in such manner as to popularize Buddhism throughout the land. About this era, also, many priests came to Japan from China. It would appear, nevertheless, that side by side with the spread of Buddhist conviction the doctrine of fate and fortune was taught and






The Budd



t Temple Hoiyu.



the necessity of vows and penances inculcated, to the delusion and demoralization of ignorant folks. In every direction priestly sway made itself felt, even the Imperal Court being largely under the influence of Gembō, Dōkyō, and their following.

A notable factor in the development of material prosperity at that epoch was the extraordinary ability of the priests. Many of them made voyages to China to study the arts and science of that empire, and on their return to Japan, travelled up and down the land, opening regions hitherto left barren, building temples, repairing and extending roads, bridging rivers, establishing ferries, digging ponds, canals, and wells, encouraging navigation, and contributing not less to the material civilization of the country than to the moral improvement of the people. It may be truly said that the spread of Buddhism was synchronous with the rise of art and science. Carpenters, from the practice acquired in building temples, learned how to construct large edifices; sculptors and metallurgists became skilful by casting and graving idols of gold and bronze; painting, decorative weaving, the ornamentation of utensils, and the illumination of missals owe their expert pursuit to the patronage of Buddhism; the first real impetus given to the potter's art is associated with the name of a priest; in short, almost every branch of industrial and artistic development owes something to the influence of the creed. In a storehouse called the Shōsō-in, forming part of the Tōdai-ji, and in the temple of Hōriu, both buildings at Nara, there are preserved a number of household utensils, objects of apparel, musical instruments, and so forth, handed down from the Nara Epoch, every one of which bears witness to a refined and artistic civilization, not surpassed by succeeding gene-

rations. Among glyptic artists there have been handed down from the days of the Emperor Kōtoku the name of Yamaguchi-no-Atae-Ōkuchi, and from the time of the Emperor Shōmu those of Keibunkai and Keishukun, men famous for their skill in sculpting idols. The two latter were called "Kasuga" after the place where they lived, and were held in the highest honour. It is true that architecture, sculpture, dyeing, and weaving, introduced originally from China and Korea, had long been practised with considerable success, but during the Nara Epoch these arts were in the hand of men celebrated then and subsequently for their proficiency. The same may be said also of the arts of the lacquerer and the sword-smith which at that time were carried far beyond ancient standards of achievement. It is further worthy of note that the methods of manufacturing glass and soap were known in the eighth century. Nara and its temples, remaining outside the range of battles and the reach of conflagrations, have escaped the destruction that periodically overtook other Imperial capitals, so that those who visit the place to-day can see objects of art and daily use more than a thousand years old.

Simultaneously with the progress thus made in art and industry, learning received a great impetus. The Emperor Tenchi was the first to appoint officials charged with educational functions, and in accordance with the provisions of the Taihōryō, a university was established in the capital as well as public school in the various localities throughout the provinces. The subjects chiefly taught in the university were history, the Chinese classics, law, and mathematics. These were called the *shidō*, or four paths of learning. In the succeeding reign, education continued to receive powerful encouragement, but the principal object in view being

the training of Goverment officials, instruction for the masses remained in a very unsatisfactory state. Learning in that age virtually signified a knowledge of the Chinese classics. Hence, in the Nara Epoch, scholars versed in that kind of erudition were very numerous, conspicuous among them being Awada-no-Mahito, Ō-no-Yasumaro, Kibi-no-Makibi and so forth. Intercourse with China being then tolerably close, there were frequent instances of priests and students proceeding thither, the former to investigate religious subjects, the latter to study Chinese literature by order of the Government. Among those who made the voyage were Kibi-no-Makibi, and Abe-no-Nakamaro. Even in China these men obtained a high reputation for learning. The former, on his return to Japan, was appointed a Minister of State, but the latter never saw his native country again. Encountering a violent gale on his homeward voyage, he was driven back to China. There he received an important official position, and there he remained until his death, constantly hoping to return to Japan but always unable to realize his hope. It appears that Japan in those days possessed not a few scholars who could write Chinese fluently. The composition of Chinese poetry was commenced in the reign of the Emperor Kōbun, the first book of verses ever published in Japan—The "Kwaifūsō"—making its appearance at that time. It is on record that, at an earlier epoch—during the reign of the Empress Suiko—Prince Shōtoku, Soga-no-Umako, and so forth, jointly compiled such books as a "Biography of the Emperors" (*Tennō-ki*) and "National History (*Kokki*). But unfortunately these manuscripts were almost totally destroyed at the time of the overthrow of the Soga Family. Subsequently, the Emperor Temmu instructed Prince Kawashima and others to write a history, and further directed

Hieda-no-Are to dictate for transcription the annals of the successive reigns. Again, in the 5th year of the Wadō era (1372 of the Japanese chronology; 712 A.D.), Ō-no-Yasu-maro, by command of the Empress Gemmyō, compiled a history of the empire from the earliest days to the reign of Suiko. This work was called the "Kojiki." A year later, the various province received Imperial instructions to prepare geographical accounts, each of itself, and these were collated into the "Fudōki." During the next reign, the Empress Genshō continued this literary effort by causing Prince Toneri and others to compile the "Nihon Shoki," comprising a historical narrative from the beginning of the empire to the reign of Jitō. In these works, the "Kojiki" and the "Nihon Shoki," the most ancient traditions of the country are to be found. Shortly afterwards, six national histories were successively undertaken, the compilation of which continued down to the reign of the Emperor Daigo. All these books were written in Chinese ideographs. To the Japanese poetry of the Nara Epoch, however, must be assigned the first place among the literary efforts of the time. While Kōgen was on the Throne, Tachibana Moroye collected all the poems then extant, and these, being afterwards supplemented by Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi, constitute the "Manyōshū," a work containing stanzas full of nerve and imagination, simple yet by no means deficient in taste. The longer compositions are especially admirable, and have ever since served as models for writers of Japanese verse. Among the poets whose works are included in the "Manyōshū," the most famous masters were Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro and Yamabe-no-Akahito, and after them in order come Yamanouye-no-Okura, Kasa-no-Kanamura, Ōtomo-no Tabito, and Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi. These *literateurs* wrote

their verses in a script thenceforth known as the "Manyō-Kana," a kind of Japanese syllabary.

After the introduction of Chinese ideographs much progress was made in learning. Great difficulty was at first experienced in writting the ideographs, and still greater in composing sentences with them. Moreover, even in the case of scholars competent to compose with the ideographs, the task of giving Chinese equivalents for Japanese words proved insuperable. Hence the people began to use Chinese ideographs, without regard to their meaning, as phonetic instruments for expressing Japanese words. Thus employed they were called the *Manyō-kana*, and formed a syllabary which, after certain modifications, shbsequently became the *Kata-kana*. This is an important event in Japanese literary history. Later generations took the "Manyōshū" as a means of studying the ancient language of the country prior to the Nara Epoch, and from it they also derived a knowledge of the customs and sentiments of early times. Consequently this book, together with the "Kojiki" and the "Nihon Shoki," came to be regarded as most precious sources of historical information.

Such, in brief, was the state of affairs during the Nara Epoch; a state of affairs not inaptly described by a subsequent poet in the stanza:—

"*Nara, the Imperial Capital,*
*Blooms with prosperity,*
*Even as the blossom blooms*
*With rich colour and sweet fragrance.*"

But the provinces were in a very different state. In districts

remote from the capital education had made little progress, and people were for the most part ignorant and poor.

The Emperor Shōmu having died without male issue, the Throne was occupied by his daughter Kōgen (749 to 758 A.D.). During the reign of this Empress, Funado, a son of Prince Niitabe, was adopted as heir. Tachiba-no-Moroye and Fujiwara-no-Toyonari (son of Muchimaro) were then Ministers of the Left and Right. It happened, however, that Nakamaro, the younger brother of Toyonari, being very clever and enjoying high favour with the Empress, wielded such influence that he was able to procure the dismissal of the two Ministers of the Left and Right, and to cause the Heir Apparent to be changed to Prince Ōi, those who opposed his designs being treated as rebels, whether Princes of the Blood or relatives of the Imperial Family, and many of them compelled to commit suicide. The Sceptre coming soon afterwards into the hands of Prince Ōi, Nakamaro's power became greater than ever. He caused the official titles to be completely changed, procured for himself the post of *Taishi* (Prime Minister, the former Dajō Daijin), received from his Sovereign the appellation of Emi-no-Oshikatzu, and to rose first class of the first official rank. The Empress Dowager Kōgen was a profound believer in Buddhism, and after descending from the Throne she adopted the tonsure. A priest named Dōkyō at the time held the office of Palace Prelate. Prior to this, in the days of the Emperor Shōmu, a priest named Gembō had obtained great influence at Court, and had been instrumental in causing disturbances in which Fujiwara-no-Hirotsugu played the chief rôle. Dōkyō brought about a similar tumult. For being the prime favourite of the Empress Dowager, his power assumed

such proportions that Oshikatzu took up arms against the government. The forces of the government and the rebel met in Ōmi province, with the result that Oshikatzu was completely routed, his adherents exterminated, and he himself killed. All the administrative changes he had effected were abolished and things were restored to their former state. As for the Emperor, having ascended the Throne by the influence of Oshikatzu, and being, moreover, on bad terms with the Empress Dowager, he was dethroned and exiled to Awaji, the retired Empress again assuming the Sceptre (764 A.D.). This was the first instance of an Emperor being exiled since the empire had been established fourteen centuries previously. Posterity gave to the Sovereign thus unfortunately distinguished the name of the "Dethroned Emperor of Awaji" (*Awaji no Haitei*), but in the third year of the *Meiji* era (1871) the title of Junnin Tennō was conferred on him. At the time of his exile many Princes of the Blood were either banished with him or killed, with the result that the princely adherents of the Imperial House were materially reduced in number. Thereafter Dōkyō received the posts of Prime Minister and Second Prelate of the Realm (*Zenshi*), ultimately attaining the position of First Prelate (*Hō-ō*). His food, raiment, and body-guards were similar to those of the Empress, and so great was his influence that the whole Administration rested in his hands. His partisans went so far as to say openly that were the Prime Minister made Emperor, the realm would enjoy peace. Profound, however, as was the nation's belief in Buddhism at that epoch, there were just men who could not tamely endure such evil doings. Conspicuous among them was a brave and upright subject named Wake-no-Kiyomaro. Having addressed himself to the Shrine of the Shintō deity Usa-Hachiman, he obtained an oracle

couched in the following terms, which he presented to the Empress :—"The distinction of Sovereign and subject is fundamental. Never can a subject become Emperor. The Emperor must always be of the Imperial line. Let the unrighteous subject who would cut off the Imperial succession be at once removed." Dōkyō was much incensed by this procedure and caused Kiyomaro to be banished. But the oracle produced its effect on the Empress. She repented the things that had been done, and all idea of raising Dōkyō to the Throne was abandoned. The next year Her Majesty died, and by the contrivance of Fujiwara-no-Momokawa, who held the post of Court Councillor, and Fujiwaro-no-Nagate, Minister of the Left, Shirakabe-no-ō, grandson of the Emperor Tenchi, was raised to the Throne under the title of Kōnin. At this point the descendants of the Emperor Temmu ceased to hold the succession, and those of the Emperor Tenchi assumed it. No sooner had he obtained the Sceptre than Kōnin banished Dōkyō to Shimotsuke, and would have punished him more severely had not the affection borne for him by the late Empress been regarded as a title to clemency. Kiyomaro was recalled to Court and appointed to a high post. Posterity, not without reason, regards his memory with almost religious respect.

## SECTION VI.

### *Transfer of the Capital to Kyōto.—Creation of New Offices. Progress of Buddhism.—Learning.*

The Emperor Kōnin abdicated in favour of his son, who reigned under the name of Kwammu. This Sovereign gave evidence of the possession of great sagacity and vigour. A remarkable event of his reign was the transfer



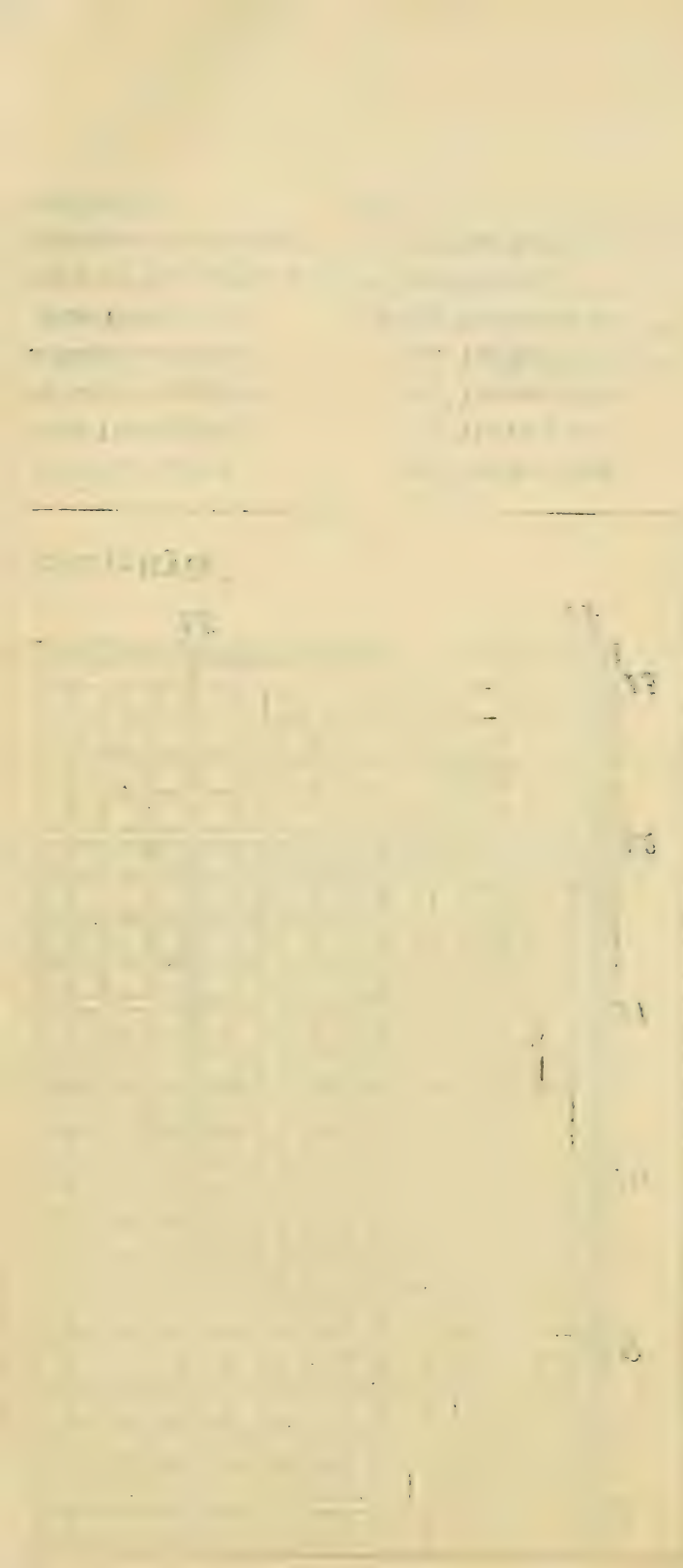

Image of the Emperor Kwammu.

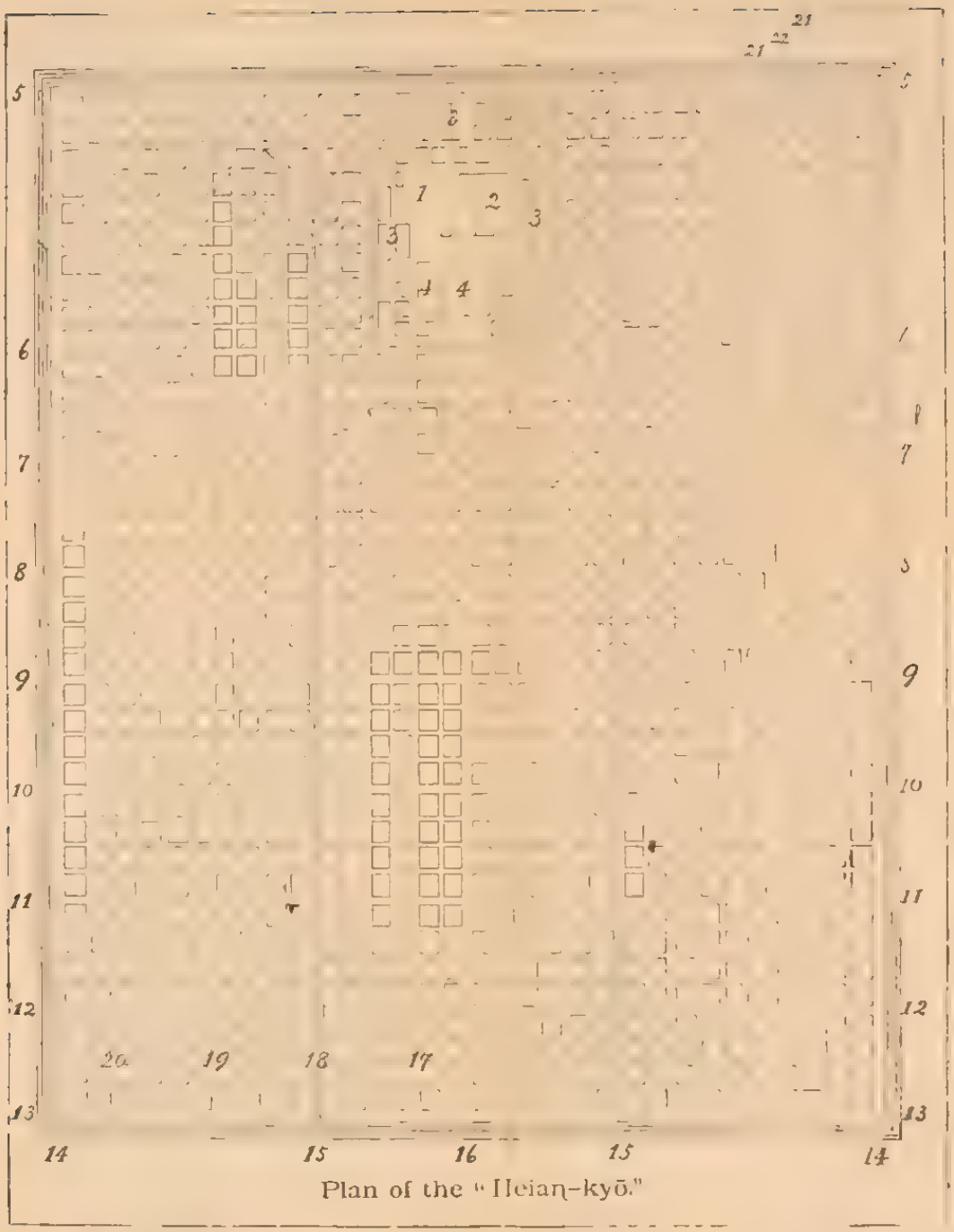


of the capital to Uda in the Kadono district of Yamashiro province, which took place in the thirteenth year of the *Enryaku* era (794 A.D.). From ancient times it had been the custom for the Emperor and the Hair Apparent to live apart, and it thus resulted that when a Sovereign died and hia son succeeded to the Throne, the latter usually transferred the capital to the site of his own palace. In addition to this source of change, it sometimes happened that the residence of the Imperial Court was altered as often as two or three times during the same reign. Rarely however, did the Court move out of the contiguous provinces known as the *Gokinai*, the great majority of the seats of Government being in the province of Yamato. Among the most celebrated places selected by ancient emperors were Kashiwara, by the Emperor Jimmu; Naniwa, by the Emperor Nintoku; Ōtsu, by the Emperor Tenchi; and Fujiwara by the Emperor Mommu. But in those age of comparative simplicity the seat of Government was not invested with any attributes of special pomp or grandeur, and its transfer from place to place involved no serious effort. As civilization progressed, however, as the business of Administration became more complicated, and, above all, as intercourse with China grew more intimate, the character of the Palace assumed magnificence proportionate to the Imperial ceremonies and national receptions that had to be held there. Hence the capital established at Nara by the Empress Gemmyō was on a scale of unprecedented magnitude and splendour. There seven Sovereigns reigned in succession without any thought of moving elsewhere. But when the Emperor Kwammu assumed the reins of Government, he found that Nara was not a convenient place for administrative purpose, and he therefore adopted a resolve to build his Palace at Nagaoka in the Otokuni district of

Yamashiro province. A brief residence at the latter place convinced him that his choice had not been well guided, and in the thirteenth year of the *Enryaku* era, he again moved to Uda in the Kadono district of the same province. Simultaneously with this transfer a different method of writing the name of the province was adopted. Phonetically it underwent no change, but ideographically it became the "Mountain Castle" instead of "Behind the Mountains." The event was treated as a subject of national rejoicing, and the people called the new capital "Heian-kyō," or the "citadel of tranquillity." This is the modern Kyōto. It continued to be the capital of the empire during a period of 1,074 years until the seat of Government was removed to Tōkyō at the time of the great *Meiji* Reformation. Seventy-seven Emperors held their courts successively in Kyōto. The interval that separated the choice of Kyōto as capital from the establishment of the Shōgun's seat of administration at Kamakura by Yoritomo—an interval of 392 years, from 794 to 1196 A.D.—is known in history as the "Heian Epoch."

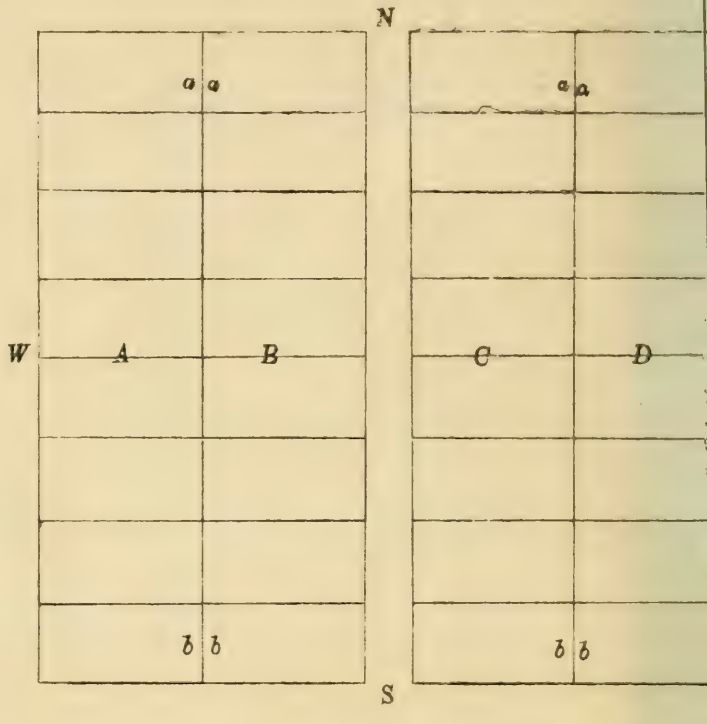
The most noteworthy events of the "Heian Epoch" occurred chiefly at the seat of Government. The new capital was built after the model of Nara, with some modifications introduced from the metoropolis of the Tang dynasty in China. Its grandeur bears withness to the character of Kwammu and to the foresight the distinguished all his actions. From north to south it measured 17,530 feet and from east to west 15,080 feet, the whole being surrounded by moats and palisades, and the Imperial Palace being situated in the centre of the northern portion. From the southern palace gate (*Shujaku-mon*) to the southernmost city gate (*Rajō-mon*) a long street, 280 feet





Plan of the "Heiaŋ-kyō."

1 The Imperial Palace
2 The Imperial Palace
3 The Various Administrative Departments
4 The Various Halls
The First Main Throughway
6 The Second Main Throughway
7 The Third Main Throughway
8 The Fourth Main Throughway
9 The Fifth Main Throughway
10 The Sixth Main Throughway
11 The Seventh Main Throughway
12 The Eighth Main Throughway
13 The Ninth Main Throughway
14 The Main Kyō-ō Throughway (East running along the Imperial Palace)
15 The Horikawa
16 The Rajō Gate.
17 The First *Bō*
18 The Second *Bō*
19 The Third *Bō*
20 The Fourth *Bō*
21 The Moat
22 The Palisade




Plan of the *Cho*.

The *bo* in the *sakyo* (left capital), is numbered from west to east, and the *bo* in the *ukyo* (right capital) from east to west.

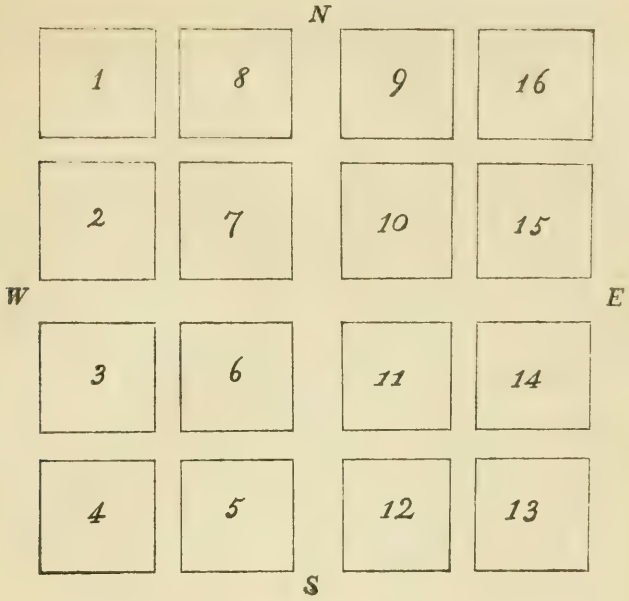
The *cho* (street) in the left capital is numbered from north-west to south, and then from south-east to north-east; and the *cho* in the right capital from north-east to south and then again from south-west to north-west.

The *gyo* (row) in the left capital is arranged from west to east, and the *gyo* in the right capital from east to west.

The *mon* (gates) in the left capital begin at the north-west and extend to the south, and the gates in the right capital extend from the north-east to the south.

The passage dividing the *cho* is a road. All the other sides of the *cho* are likewise flanked by passages of the same width.

E




Plan of the *Bo*.

*A*. The First Western *Gyo* (row).

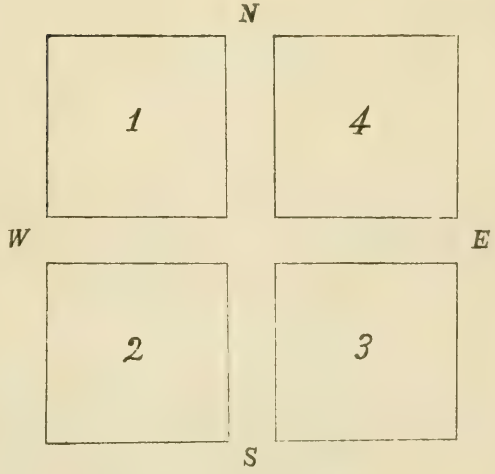
*B*. The Second Western *Gyo*.

*C*. The Third Western *Gyo*.

*D*. The Fourth Western *Gyo*.

*a*. The Northern *Mon* (gate) No. 1.

*b*. The Northern *Mon* No. 9.

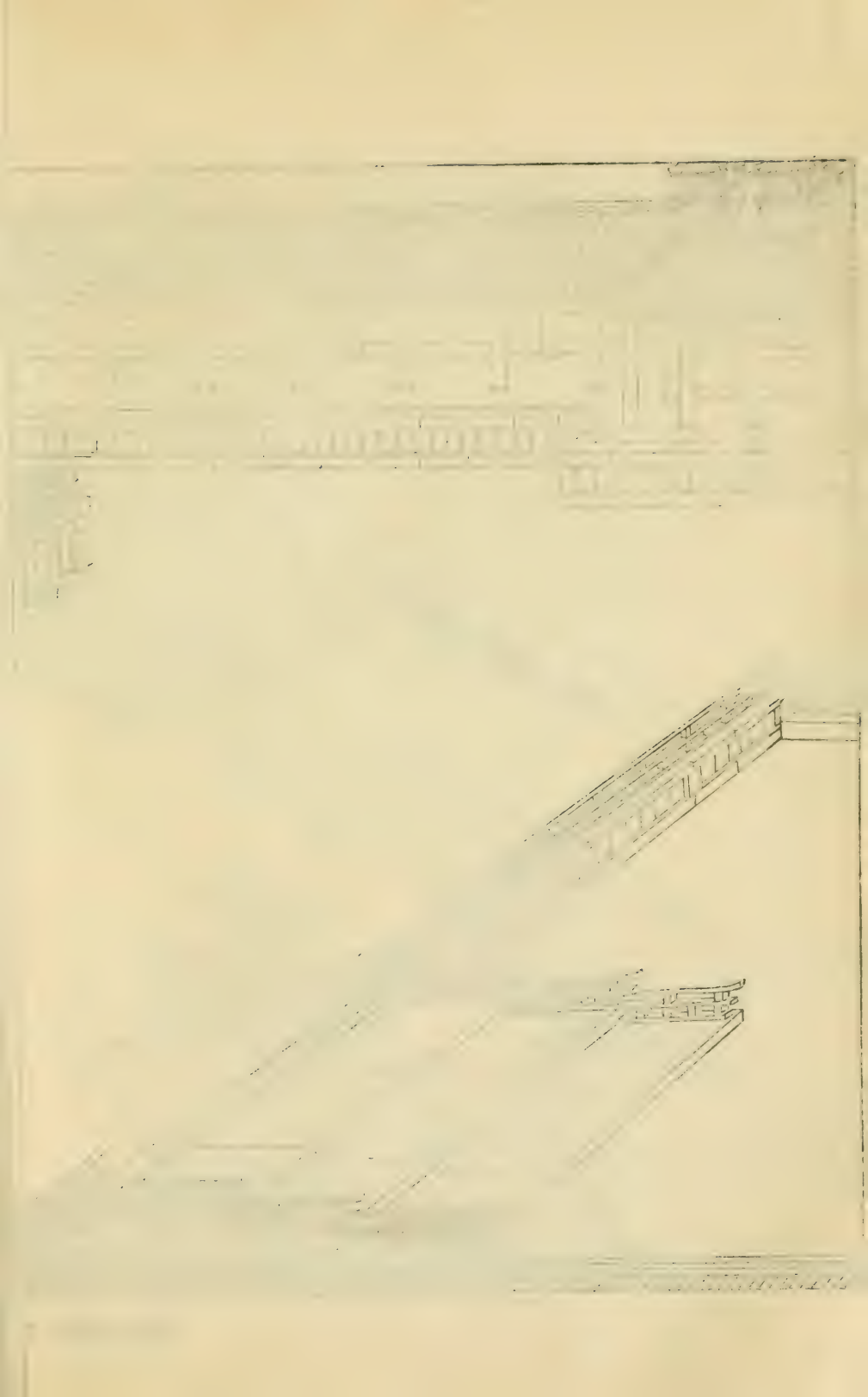


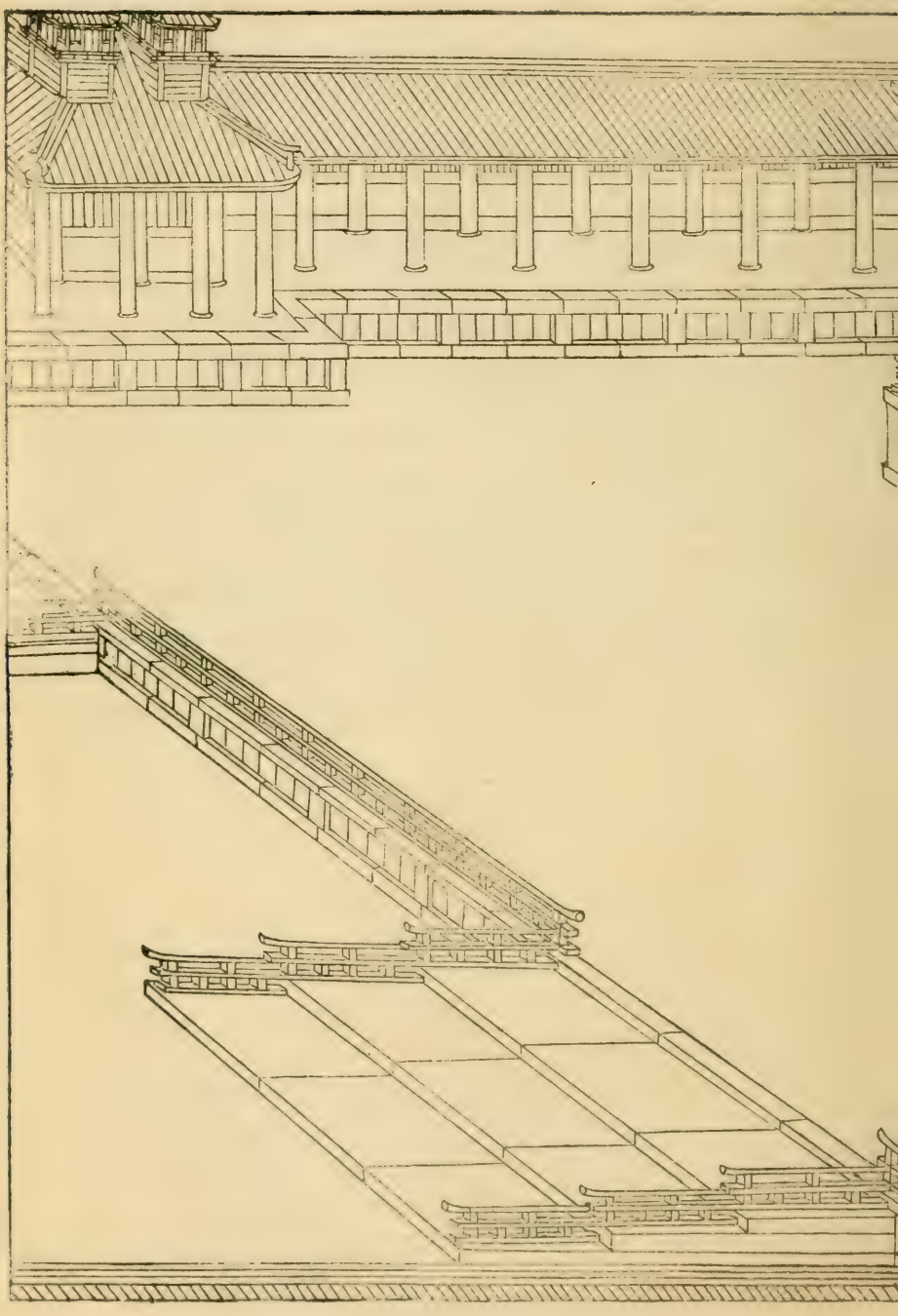

Plan of the *Ho*.

wide, (called *Sujaku-ōji*, or the main Shujaku thoroughfare) extended in one straight line, separating the city into two parts, of which the eastern was designated *Sakyō*, or the left capital, and the western, *Ukyō*, or the right capital. The whole city, from east to west, was divided into nine district *(jō)*, and between the first and second districts lay the Imperial Palace. An elaborate system of subdivision was adopted. The unit, or *ko* (house), was a space measuring 100 feet by 50. Eight of these units made a row *(gyō)*; four rows, a street *(chō)*; four streets, a *ho*; four *ho*, a *bō*; and four *bō*, a *jō*. The entire capital contained 1,216 *chō* and 38,912 houses. The arrangement of the streets was perfectly regular. They lay parallel and at right angles like the lines on a checkers board. The Imperial citadel measured 3,840 feet from east to west, and 4,600 feet from north to south. On each side were three gates, and in the middle stood the Emperor's Palace, surrounded by the buildings of the various Administrative Departments. This palace was environed by double walls, and contained altogether seventeen large and five small edifices, everyone of them picturesque and handsome.

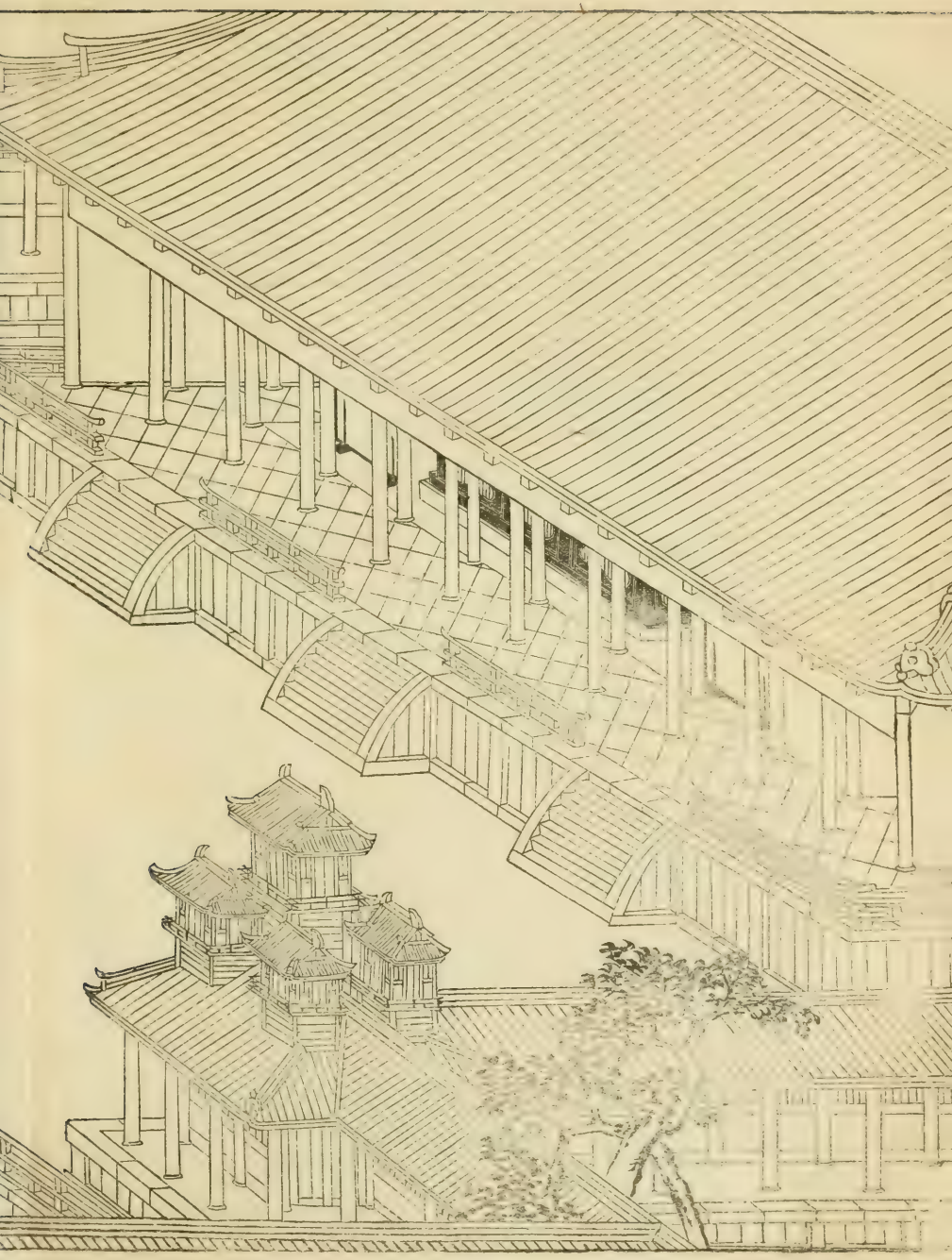
Great and fine as was this metropolis, it suffered such ravages during the disturbances of succeeding centuries that the Kyōto of to-day, the "Saikyō," or Western Capital, is but a shadow of the Saikyō of ancient times. Not even the Imperial Palace escaped these ravages. Again and again impaired or destroyed by conflagrations, it gradually assumed smaller and smaller dimensions until only a trace remained of the splendid edifice that had once stood in the centre of the citadel. But the regularity of the streets could not be obliterated. That at least survives to tell the story of the plan on which the city was constructed.

Allusion has already been made to the powerful military expedition despatched at this era, under the command of Sakanouye-no-Tamuramaro, against the insurgents in the eastern provinces. This event, together with the transfer of the capital to Kyōto, constitute the salient incidents of Kwammu's reign. Among the statesmen of the time, Fujiwara-no-Korekimi, Fujiwara-no-Tsuginawa, Fujiwara-no-Otsugu, and Wake-no-Kiyomaro were the most renowned; among the military captains, Sakanouye-no-Tamuramaro and Bunya-no-Watamaro. It was in this reign that Ōmi-no-Mifune, President of the University and Master of Arts (*Bunshō-hakase*), acting under Imperial instructions, selected suitable posthumous names for the successive Sovereigns from the time of the Emperor Jimmu to that of Kōnin. Hitherto the Sovereigns had been designated by the names of their capitals or by their personal names, but thenceforth they were known under specially selected appellations.





The Ha



" Daigokuden."

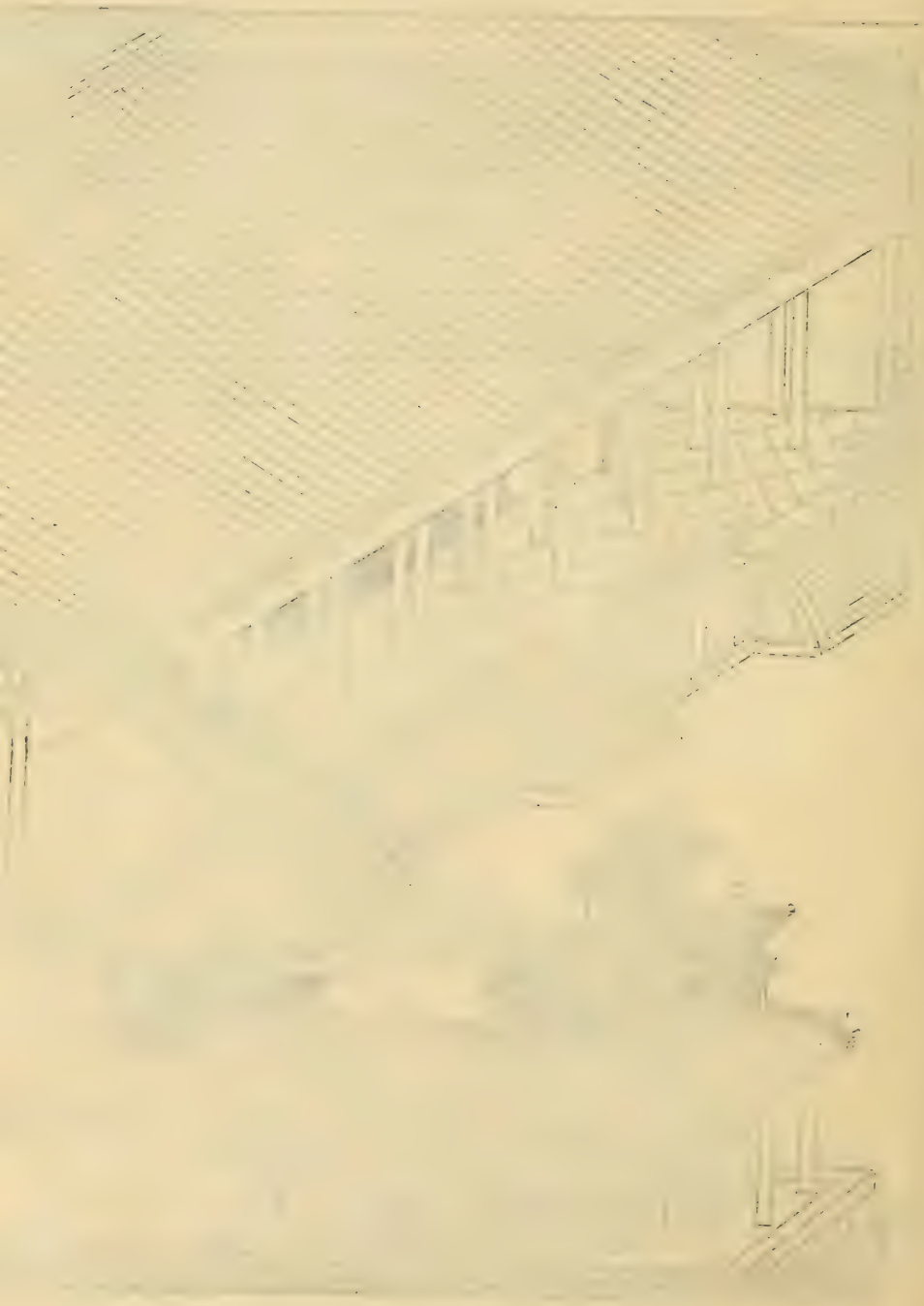


TABLE SHOWING LINEAGE AND CHRONOLOGY OF SOVEREIGNS.

49th Emperor Kōnin (770-782 A. D.)

50th Emperor Kwammu (782-806 A. D.)

51st Emperor Heizei (806-810 A. D.) | 52nd Emperor Saga (810-824 A. D.) | 53rd Emperor Junna (824-834 A. D.)

54th Emperor Nimmyo (834-851 A. D.)

55th Emperor Montoku (851-856 A. D.) | 58th Emperor Kōkō (885-893 A. D.)

56th Emperor Seiwa (856-877 A. D.) | 59th Emperor Uda (893-898 A. D.)

57th Emperor Yōzei (877-885 A. D.) | 60th Emperor Daigo (898-931 A. D.)

61st Emperor Shujaku (931-947 A. D.) | 62nd Emperor Murakami (947-968 A. D.)

63rd Emperor Reizei (968-970) A. D.) | 64th Emperor Enyū (970-985 A. D.)

65th Emperor Kwazan (985-987 A. D.) | 67th Emperor Sanjō (1012-1017 A. D. | 66th Emperor Ichijō (987-1012 A. D.)

68th Emperor Goichijō (1017-1037 A. D.) | 69th Emperor Goshujaku (1037-1046 A. D.)

70th Emperor Goreizei (1046-1069 A. D.) | 71st Emperor Gosanjō (1069-1073 A. D.)

The Emperor Kwammu was succeeded by his son Heizei, but the latter, suffering from delicate health, abdicated in favour of his brother Saga, himself assuming the title of "Jō-kō" (ex-Emperor). Although the recognised custom was that the Sceptre should pass to the Heir Apparent after the Emperor's death and should not be transferred during the Sovereign's life-time, there were many examples to the contrary. The first instance was that of Keitai, the twenty-sixth Emperor, who resigned the Throne to Ankan. The Empress Kōgyoku, thirty-fifth Sovereign, adopted a similar course with regard to her successor Kōtoku. That was before the Taikwa Reformation. Shōmu, again, be-

cause of his profound devotion to Buddhism, laid aside the Imperial power, and after his time history records many cases of abdication. On the assumption of the Sceptre by Saga, his predecessor's favourite concubine, Kusuko, conspired with her elder brother to place Heizei once more on the Throne, and transfer the capital to its former site (Nara). But the plot was discovered and the plotters suffered punishment. Shortly afterwards, Saga abdicated in favour of his brother Junna, and it thus happened that there were two ex-Emperors at the same time, Heizei and Saga; a state of affairs followed by one still more anomalous when Junna, in turn, resigned the Sceptre to Saga's son, Nimmyō. These transfers of the Throne by three successive Emperors to their brothers or to the son of a former Sovereign, instead of bequeathing it to their own progeny, seem to have been prompted by motive either of magnanimity or gratitude. But the result was to impair the prestige of the Heir Apparent and to create opportunities for the ambitious designs of powerful subjects.

Several incidents attract attention during the reign of the Emperor Saga. Perhaps the most noteworthy was the creation of two new officials, the *Kurando*, whose functions were to deal with secret court documents and with petitions addressed to the Throne, and the *Kebiishi*, whose duty was to inquire into and judge cases of robbery or acts of violence. Subsequently, all the functions hitherto discharged by the *Shōnagon* (Assistant-Vice-Minister), and Chamberlains, were included in the province of the *Kurando*. Hence that office became an important branch of the Administration. Under the Administrative organization fixed by the Taihō Code, the duty of apprehending offenders had fallen to the *Efu*, or

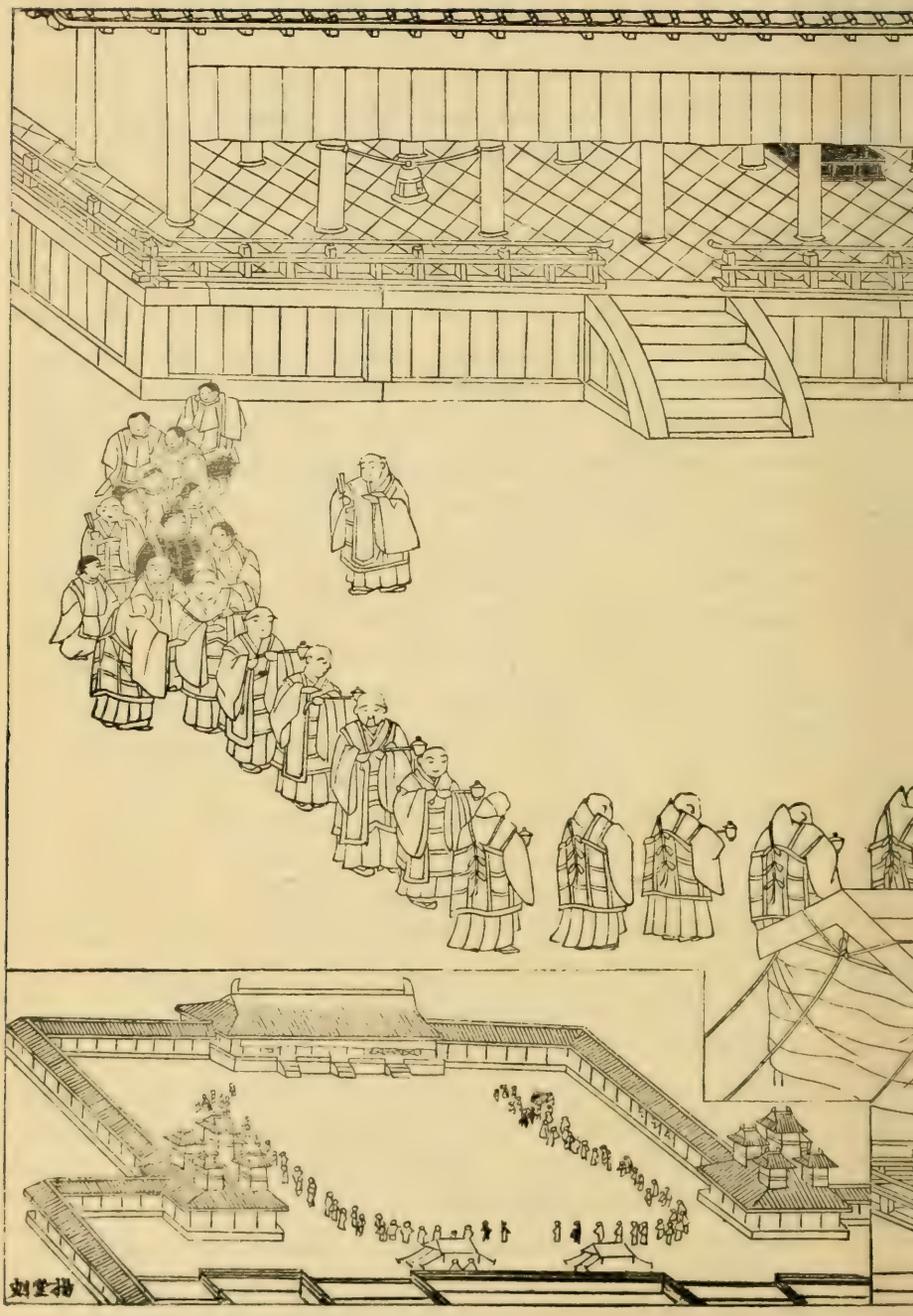
guards; that of examining into offences, to the *Danjōdai*; that of passing judgment, to the *Gyōbushō*, and that of deciding civil suits, to the *Kyōshoku*. But all these matters were now included in the functions of the *Kebiishi-chō* (Board of *Kebiishi*), which consequently exercised wide administrative sway. Notifications issued by this Board had equal power with Imperial Ordinances, and persons offending against them were treated as though they had violated the Sovereign's commands. The office of *Kebiishi* thus came to be an object of special ambition to military men, and history indicates that its creation possessed a close relation to the rise of the military class.

It will be observed that the laws of the Taihō Code thus underwent, little by little, considerable changes. Offices not contemplated by the Code and established after its promulgation in the times here treated of, as those of *Naidaijin* (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal), *Sangi* (Privy Councillor), and so forth, together with *Kurando* and *Kebiishi*, were collectively designated *Kyō-gwai-no-Kwan*, or Extra-Code offices.

During the reign of Nimmyō there lived two remarkable priests, Saichō and Kūkai, known to posterity as Dengyō-daishi and Kōbō-daishi respectively. Buddhism, as has been related, attained a state of great prosperity during the Nara Epoch. Nevertheless, Shintoism also exercised considerable sway, though the preponderance of Buddhism was very marked down to the commencement of the Heian Epoch. That this was chiefly due to the actual spread of the imported creed can not be doubted, but under any circumstances men like Saichō and Kūkai must have contributed materially to the influence of the faith professed

by them. Not only do they stand in the very highest places among Japanese religionists, but the impetus given by their talents to the progress of civilization was most marked. Travelling to China, they studied the profoundest doctrines of Buddhism and gained for themselves a great reputation. Saichō founded the sect called Tendai, and built the celebrated temple Enryaku-ji, at Hiyei-zan, to guarantee the Imperial Palace against maleficent influences from the north-east. Kūkai, founded the Shingon Sect, and built the not less famous temple of Kongōbu-ji, at Kōya-san. In earlier days, Ryōben, Gyōki, and other priests had preached the identity of the Shintō deities and the Buddhist god. Saichō and Kūkai pushed this doctrine still further. They taught that the Hotoke was the one and only divine being, and that all the *Kami* were manifestations of him. On that basis they established a new doctrine called *Shintō*, or the way of the deity, the tenets of which mingled Shintoism and Buddhism inextricably. In consequence of the spread of this doctrine, it became a not uncommon occurrence to find Buddhist relics in a Shinto shrine, or a Shintō idol in a Buddhist temple, while the names of Shintō deities (*Kami*) were confused with Buddhist titles such as *Bosatsu* or *Gongen*. Priests wandered everywhere throughout the land, preaching their doctrine and founding temple at choice sites, on high mountains or in deep dells. To all this movement of propagandism music lent its aid, for the melody of the Buddhist chants touched the heart of the people. Devotees constantly grew in number. Many of the highest personages in the land spent great sums upon the building of temples; the consort of the Emperor Saga, for example, constructing Danrin-ji, and the Prime Minister Michinaga erecting Hōjō-ji. Even in case of sickness, litanies and





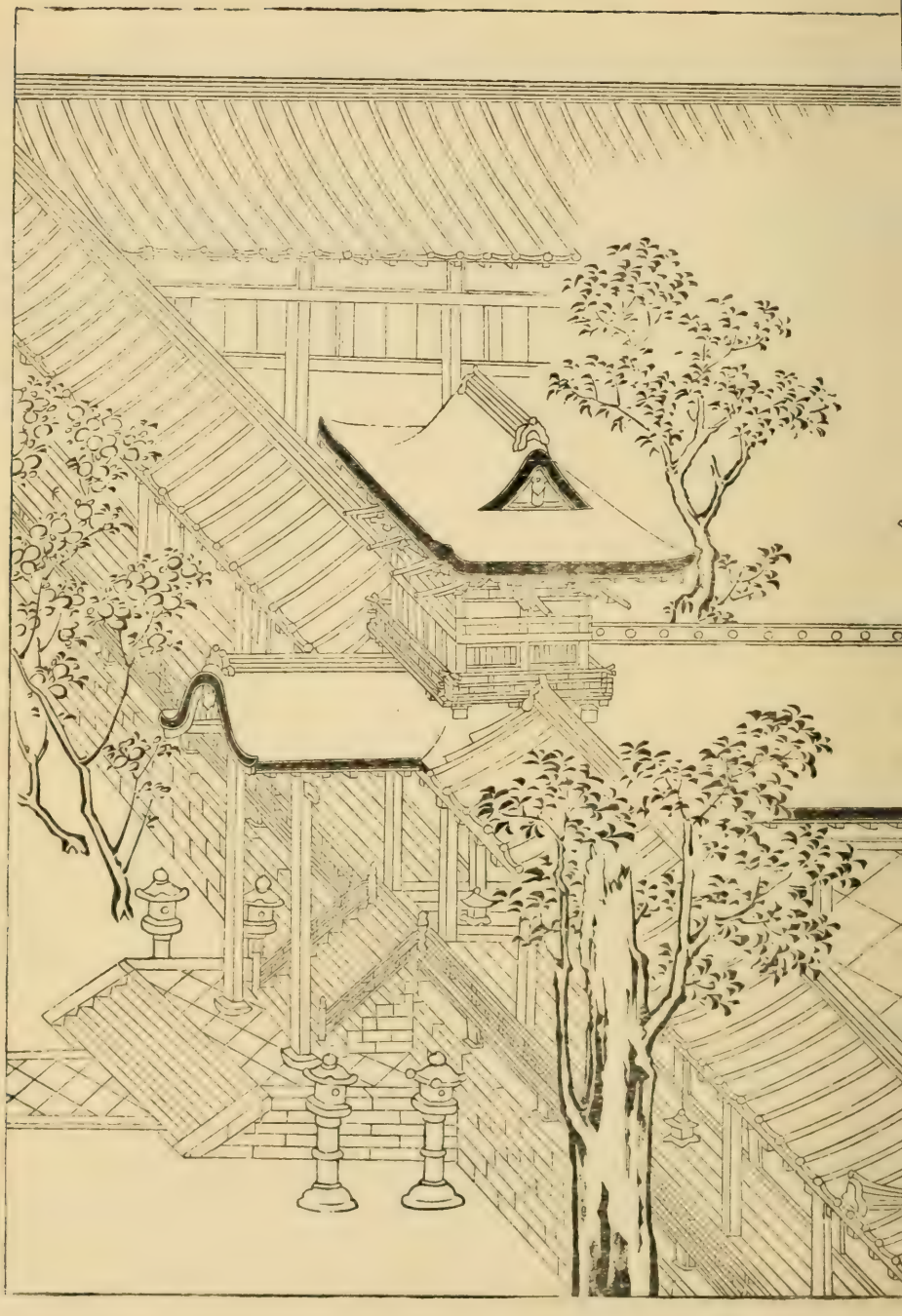
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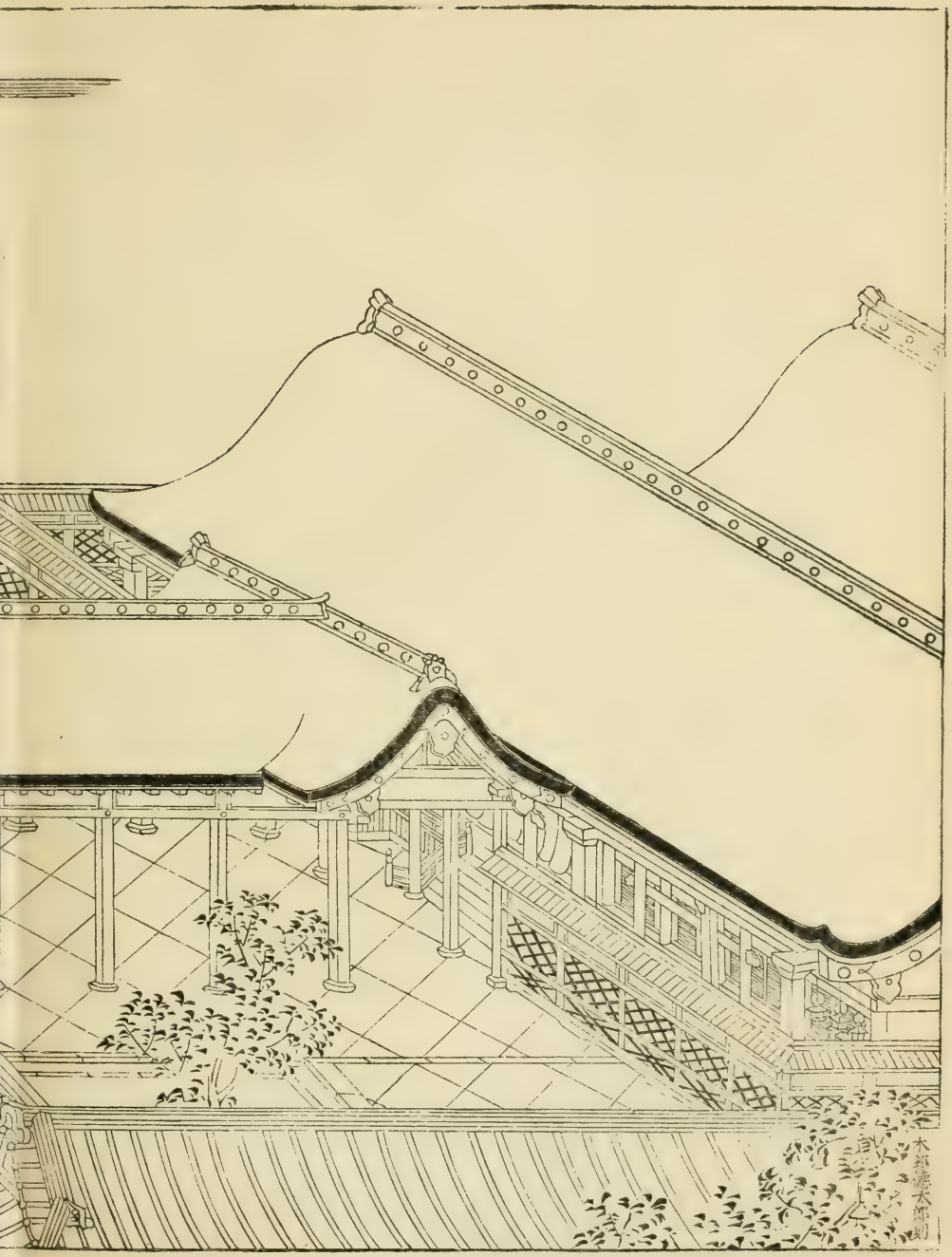
ddhistic ceremony).







The Hachima



hrine at Iwashimizu



religious rites took the place of medicine before the science of the latter had been developed, and against all calamities of nature prayer was regarded as a talisman. It is easy to conceive that, under such circumstances, Buddhism came to exercise greater sway than even the Ordinances of the Sovereign himself.

Among the various sects of the faith, those first introduced into Japan were the Sanron and the Jōjitsu. In the reigh of Kōtoku a priest named Dōshō founded the Hossō sect (called also the Yuishiki), and during the reigns of Shōmu and Kōgen a Chinese priest, Dōei, promulgated the tenets of the Kegon sect, and another priest, Kanjin, those of the Ritsu. We have seen, also, that Dengyō-daishi and Kōbō-daishi added the Tendai and Shingon sects, and yet another—the Kusha, a branch of the Hossō—was established by Myōsen. Hence, there were no less than eight different sects of Buddhism in Japan in the early years of the Heian Epoch, yet the Shintō faith did not loss its sway. Thus we find the Emperor Saga dedicating a fane at the Kamo Shrine, and the Emperor Seiwa establishing a place for the worship of Iwashimizu Hachiman at Otoko-yama. Imperial visits to these two Shrines were not infrequent. Above all at the celebrated Jingū Shrine in Ise the Shinto rites were kept free from all admixture of extraneous creeds.

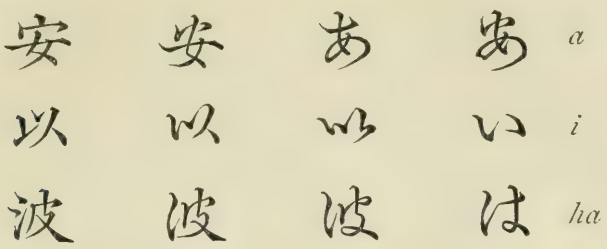
The Emperor Saga, deeply versed in the Chinese Classics and in historical lore showed much skill as a poet and literateur. His caligraphic dexterity also was remarkable, in respect alike of the cursive script and of the square ideographs. The Emperor Junna and Nimmyō were scarcely less famous. Above all, Kōbō-daishi and Tachibana-no-Ha-

yanari developed such ability as penmen that posterity refers to them and the Emperor Saga as the three Japanese princes of caligraphy. In later days, Ono-no-Tōfū, Fujiwara Sari, and Fujiwara Kōzei attained similar celebrity. And their writing departs from the Chinese style and exhibits distinctly national characteristics. They are commonly spoken of as the "Three Penmen of Japan" (*Sanseki*). Caligraphy has always been to the Japanese what painting is to Western nations. The expert penman used to be held in higher esteem than the master painter. From the Nara Epoch onwards all noblemen, with few exceptions, were practised caligraphists. In the Court there existed an office called *Goshodokoro* (Imperial chancellerie), whose functions had to do with caligraphy only. But painting also was much valued. Kudara Kawanari, in the reign of Montoku, and Kose-no-Kanaoka, in the reign of Daigo, gained fame as limners of Buddhism saints and eminent personages. Kanaoka, above all, stands on a high pinnacle of renown. Matters connected with painting were under the control of a Court office called *Edokoro*.

From the days of Kwammu downwards, the Sovereigns in succession encouraged learning. The University in Kyōto and the public schools in the provinces were in a flourishing condition, and many private schools sprang into existence. The patronage of great nobles was munificently exercised in the cause of education. Thus Wake-no-Kiyomaro established the Kōbun-in, and Fujiwara Fuyutsugu the Kwangaku-in, primarily for the instruction of their own relatives and dependents; the consort of the Emperor Saga founded the Gakkwan-in to educate the youth of the Tachibana family; Kōbō-daishi established the Sōgeishuchi-in; Ariwara Yukihira, the Shōgaku-in; Sugawara and Ōye,

the Bunshō-in, and so forth. Further, great numbers of students were engaged in compiling not only the history of the Empire but also many other works of a general character, so that learning occupied a high place in popular esteem. But unfortunately the scholarship of the age drifted into superficialities of style to the neglect of practical uses. Writers of verses applied themselves to imitating the work of the celebrated poet Hakkyoi, and writers of prose thought only of constructing their phrases in such a manner that combinations of four ideographs should be followed by combinations of six, in regular alternation—a form of composition known as the *Shirokuheirei* (four-and-six order). But despite this slavish adherence to valueless externals, a notable literary achievement has to be placed to the credit of the era; namely, the elaboration of the syllabaries, the *Hira-gana* and the *Kata-kana*. The first syllabary had been the *Manyō-gana*, in which the Chinese ideographs were used phonetically with little attention to their original meaning. Much advantage was doubtless conferred by this method. But to write a Chinese ideograph for each syllable of a Japanese word involved much labour, since in many cases a single ideograph was composed of numerous strokes and dots. Hence, as civilization progressed and caligraphy came to be more widely practised, men sought to lighten the labour entailed in transcribing the Chinese ideographs by eliminating everything except the rudimentary skeleton of the ideograph. Sometimes the "radical," or basis, only of the ideographs was preserved. Sometimes even the "radical" was abbreviated. The process will be understood at once by an example; thus the ideograph 伊 being reduced to イ served to express the syllable which its original sound (i) represented; 呂, similarly abbreviated to ㇿ, became *ro* in

the syllabary, and 保 being shortened to 木, did duty for *ho*. The syllables thus obtained, forty-seven in all, were arranged in a table of fifty sounds *(gojūon-zu)*, constituting the *Kata-kana*. The honour of the final elaboration and arrangement of the syllabary is given to Kibi-no-Makibi, a great scholar and statesman of the Nara Epoch. Thenceforth, instead of the pain of commiting to memory thousands of ideographs, and employing them with no little toil, it became possible to record the most complex thoughts by the aid of fifty simple syllables. Nevertheless, since the nation had come to regard Chinese literature as the classics of learning, scholars were still compelled to use Chinese ideographs and to follow Chinese rules of composition, so that the cursive forms of the Chinese characters became the recognised script of educated men. These cursive characters possessed one advantage: they were capable of considerable abbrebiation within certain limits. Naturally, the facility they offered in that respect was more and more utilized, until at length their forms were modified to comparative simplicity. In the Heian Epoch, when the great prelate Kōbō-daishi composed, for mnemonic purposes, the rhyming syllabary *(iroha-uta)* called *Imayō*. the forms of the simplified characters may be considered to have finally crystallized into the syllabary known as the *Hira-kana*. The number of syllables in this syllabary was forty-seven, and the process of abbreviation may be perceived from the following table, in which the ideographs on the left of each line represent the original or unabbreviated forms, and the ideographs on the right, the ultimate or abbreviated :—




Undoubtedly the people of Japan may claim great credit for having reduced the complicated and troublesome ideographs of China to a simple and easy, syllabary, and may justly congratulate themselves on having acquired ability to record their sentiments and ideas in a script entailing little labour or mental effort.

## SECTION VII.

*Administration of the Fujiwara Family.—Rise of Sugawara Michizane to power.—Arbitrary Exercise of Power by the Fujiwara.*

It will not fail to have been noticed that in the era subsequent to the *Taikwa* reforms, a large majority of the Ministers of the Crown were men of the Fujiwara Family. The great deeds of Kamatari and the scarcely less distinguished services of his son Fubito established the renown of the Family, and in the marriage of the Emperor Shōmu with Komyōshi, the daughter of Fubito, we have the first instance of a procedure which afterwards became common, namely, the elevation of a subject to the position of Imperial consort. Each of Fubito's four sons became the founder of a great family, namely, the Houses of Nan, Hoku, Shiki, and Kyō. Of these, the least fortunate was the Kyō-ke (*ke*= house or family). The Nan-ke may be said to have attained the zenith of its influence when Emi-no-Oshikatzu repre-

sented it, but after his conspiracy and death, it declined rapidly. Among the representatives of the Shiki-ke we find conspicuously great men, like Momokawa who assisted materially in bringing the Emperors Kōnin and Kwammu to the Throne; but we find also the traitors Kusuko and Nakanari whose evil deeds struck a fatal blow to the family's prestige. Only the House of Hoku, founded by Fusasaki, escaped vicissitudes. Fusasaki's great grandson, Fuyutsugu, was man of remarkable sagacity and integrity. He established a college called the Kwangaku-in, to educate the youth of his family, and in order to propitiate the favours of heaven he caused the splendid fane Nanen-dō to be constructed within the precincts of the temple Kōfuku-ji, at Nara. This nobleman's daughter became the consort of the Emperor Nimmyō, and bore him a son who afterwards ascended the Throne as Montoku. Thus Fuyutsugu became the reigning Sovereign's grandfather on the mother's side, and the Fujiwara Family occupied a position of transcendent power.

The Emperor Montoku married the daughter of Yoshifusa, his mother's elder brother, and had by her a son, Korehito, who, when only eight months old, was declared Heir Apparent, and ascended the Throne in his ninth year under the name of Seiwa, so that in two succeeding generations one of the Sovereign's grandfathers was a Fujiwara. There had hitherto been no instance of the Sceptre coming into the hands of such a young ruler. Yoshifusa had been appointed *Dajō Daijin* (Chief Minister of State) during the reign of the last Emperor. To this, the highest and most respected office in the Administration, it had hitherto been the custom to appoint only an Imperial Prince of conspicuous ability. Failing such a candidate,

the office had been left vacant. It is true that Emi-no-Oshikatzu and the prelate Dōkyō both held the position for a time. But the circumstance of their elevation were so exceptional as to establish, rather than annul, the rule. Yoshifusa was in fact the first subject ever appointed to this conspicuous post by deliberate choice.

Owing to the extreme youth of the Emperor Seiwa, his grandfather Yoshifusa was appointed Regent, with the honour of *Jusangū*, and enjoyed the privilege of being accompanied by a train of vassals and troops when he went abroad. The honour of *Jusangū* and the title of Regent (*Sesshō*) date from that time. The Imperial authority now passed virtually into the hands of the Fujiwara Family. Seiwa abdicated after a reign of twenty-one years, and was succeeded by Yōzei, then in his tenth year only, Mototsune, adopted son of Yoshifusa, holding the offices of Chief Minister of State and Regent. As the Emperor grew older, he became addicted to pleasure and gave evidence of vicious tendencies. Mototsune, having taken counsel of all the Ministers, deposed the Sovereign and placed Kōkō on the Throne in his stead. This was the first instance of an Emperor being dethroned by a subject, but evil as such an act was in itself, its motive in the case of Mototsune being untainted by selfish ambition, he did not incur censure either from the men of his time or from historians. The Emperor Kōkō, being fifty-six years of age when he ascended the Throne, Mototsune resigned the Regency, but the Sovereign was pleased to make a special rule that all affairs of state should be conveyed to him through the ex-Regent. Mototsune's office was consequently called *Kwampaku* (*Kwampaku* signifies an official who receives reports prior to their transmission to the Sovereign), and it became thenceforth

customary to confer this post on a statesman who had resigned the Regency. In effect, the *Sesshō* or Regent, was supposed to manage the Administration during the minority of an Emperor while the *Kwampaku* discharged the same functions after the Sovereign had attaind his majority. The difference is nominal not actual. At the outset these two offices were of temporary existence, but to suit the convenience of the puissant Fujiwara House they became regular posts in the Administration, being held invariably by the descendants of Yoshifusa and Mototsune generation after generation. It seemed, indeed, as though all the highest offices of State had became the exclusive perquisite of that omnipotent Family, no others being eligible except Princes of the Blood. Not less marked were the marital relations between the Imperial and the Fujiwara Families; only a daughter of the latter could become the Sovereign's consort, so that every Sovereign had a Fujiwara for his mother.

The Emperor Kōkō was a sagacious monarch. He reigned only three years, and at his death the Sceptre descended to his son, Uda, who also showed high qualities, especially in his choice of Sugawara-no-Michizane as Minister. Michizane was a descendant of Nomi-no-Sukune His grandfather, Kiyogimi, who earned the literary title of *Bunshōsei*, was the first after Sukune to bring the family into prominence, and his father, Zezen, held the post of Court Councillor (*Sangi*). Michizane possessed remarkable capacities. To great literary, caligraphic and artistic skill, he added a profound knowledge of politics. His conspicuous qualities suffice to account for the official distinctions bestowed on him by the Emperor, but historians have found a further reason in the Sovereign's supposed desire to



Image of the ***Hō-ō*** Uda.

Image of the Buddha.

put a check on the arbitrary power exercised by the Fujiwara Family. Mototsune had died before the time of which we write, and had been succeeded by his son Tokihira. To the latter, therefore, in conjunction with Michizane, the Emperor entrusted the joint management of all administrative affairs. Some years after this appointment Uda abdicated in favour of Daigo, and, taking the tonsure, became *Hō-ō*, that is to say, an Imperial religious devotee. He left to his successor a document of instructions, known in history as the *Kwampyō-go-ikai* (Imperial precepts of the *Kwampyō* era). When Daigo ascended the Throne he was only thirteen years of age. Tokihira then filled the office of Minister of the Left (the highest Administrative post after that of Chief Minister of State), and Michizane was Minister of the Right. With the exception of Michizane and Kibi-no-Makibi, no man of the middle class had ever held such an important office. The ex-Emperor would have had Michizane raised still higher, and urged the reigning Sovereign in that sense. But this design precipitated Tokihira's resolve to contrive the downfall of a man whose great reputation with the nation and marked favour at Court dimmed the prestige of the Fujiwara Family. Michizane was also an object of keen jealousy to Minamoto-no-Hikaru, a son of the Emperor Nimmyō, who held the office of *Dainagon* (Vice-Minister), as well as to Fujiwara-no-Sadakuni, who like Hikaru, was incomparably superior to Michizane in lineage, but inferior to him in official position. These men conspired against Michizane, and conveyed to the Sovereign a false charge that the Minister of the Right was plotting to depose him and place his younger brother, Michizane's son-in-law, Prince Tokiyo, on the Throne. Daigo believed the accusation, and reduced Michizane to the post of *Dazai-no-Gon-no-sotsu*, or head of the Kiūshū local government, a posi-

tion which it had become customary to fill with disgraced officials of the Imperial Court. The order amounted in effect to a sentence of exile. The ex-Emperor did everything in his power to save Michizane, but in vain. Hikaru succeeded to the office of Minister of the Right. In all this affair the members of the Fujiwara Family left nothing undone to sweep away every obstacle to their own supremacy. Treating as opponents all that did not take active part with them, they contrived to have them involved in the disgrace of Michizane. The exiled Minister died after two years of banishment. His popularity had been so great that the nation was filled with grief for his unmerited sufferings, and when, after his decease, the partizans of Tokihira died one after another, and a series of calamities occured in the capital, people did not hesitate to regard these evils as retribution inflicted by heaven for the injustice that had been wrought. Subsequently Michizane received the posthumous honour of being raised to the first class of the first rank and to the post of Chief Minister of State, and posterity built a shrine in Kitano to his memory, where he is worshipped to this day as the tutelary saint of learning, under the canonized name of Kitano-no-Tenjin.

A fact worthy of notice is that the custom of sending ambassadors to China was abandoned at the suggestion of Michizane. From the time of the Empress Suiko, when Ono-no-Imoko was sent to the Court of the Sui Sovereigns, envoys had been frequently despatched from Japan to China, and intimate relations had been established between the two empires. In the 6th year of *Kwampyō* era (894 A.D.), Michizane was appointed Ambassador Plenipotentiary, and Ki-no-Haseo, Assistant-Ambassador. But when hey were on the point of starting, news reached them that

China was in a state of the greatest tumult and disorder owing to the dispute between Chuwen and Likeiyong, and that it would be entirely futile to send ambassadors who would merely have to run serious risks and incur heavy expenditure without effecting anything. Michizane reported this intelligence to the Emperor, which the result that the embassy project was abandoned, and official intercourse with China ceased for the time. But trade between the two countries suffered no interruption : it continued as brisk as ever. Not long afterwards information was received of the fall of the Tang Dynasty, then of the rise and rapid decline of the Five Small Dynasties, and finally of the accession of the Sung Emperors.

Daigo's reign extended over thirty years. His administration was based on care for the people. It is recorded that, on a certain bitterly cold night, he stripped himself in order to gain practical experience of the distress of the poor in winter. The period of his rule is regarded by posterity as the golden age of Japanese history. But long-continued tranquillity entailed the usual evils of effeminacy and luxury. Under an appearance of great prosperity there lurked elements of social corruption. Miyoshi Kiyotsura, who held the title of Doctor of Literature in the Imperial Court, addressed to the Throne a memorial setting forth the abuses of the age. The story of the time recalls the lesson of experience that prosperity always precedes decline. It is to that era of affluence and ease that we must look for the beginnings of the Tengyō and Hōgen tumults.

After the exile of Michizane, the power of the Fujiwara Family grew steadily. During a period of about a century and a half after that event, the Administration was virtually in their hands.

On the death of the Emperor Daigo, his sons Shujaku and Murakami reigned in succession. They were Sovereigns of good intention but their administrative policy lacked firmness. Hence, in the second year of the *Tengyō* era (1599 of the Japanese Empire; 939 A.D.) the standard of rebellion was raised by Taira-no-Masakado and Fujiwara-no-Sumitomo, with the result that wide-spread disturbance ensued and in the capital itself bands of marauders roved at will. Thenceforth, during eight decades, the Imperial power declined uniformly, its impairment continuing throughout the successive reigns of Reizei, Enyū, Kwazan, Ichijō, Sanjō, Goichijō, and Goshujaku, even down to the days of Goreizei and Gosanjō. On the other hand, it is recorded that Fujiwara-no-Tadahira occupied the post of Chief Minister of State, while his sons, Saneyori and Morosuke, held the offices of Minister of the Left and Minister of the Right respectively, the three highest posts in the Administration being thus filled simultaneously by a father and his two sons. Among the descendants of these three nobles, those of the last-named, Morosuke, attained the greatest prosperity. It has been already noted that the Fujiwara Ministers always contrived to have the Sovereign choose his consort from among their daughters. Nay more, when a son was born of such a union, they had him brought up in their own house, and when he ascended the Throne, the Fujiwara Minister who was his grandfather became either Regent or *Kwampaku*, was recognised as the head of the Fujiwara family, and received a large grant of State land. Under these circumstances the choice of an Imperial consort or the nomination of an Heir Apparent being synonymous with the acquisition of complete control over administrative and financial affairs the branches of the Fujiwara Family often intrigued and

fought among themselves to secure the great prize. Michinaga, youngest son of Kaneiye, was a man of remarkable strength of purpose and tact. He held the office of *Kwampaku* during the reigns of three Emperors, Ichijō, Sanjō, and Goichijō; his three daughters became the consorts of three successive Sovereigns; he was grandfather of a reigning Emperor and an Heir Apparent at the same time, and his power and affluence far surpassed those of the Imperial House itself. To this great noble every official paid court, except Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke, who maintained his independence and was consequently relied on by the Emperor. It is on record that Michinaga once composed a stanza the purport of which was that all the world seemed to have been created for his uses, and that every desire he felt was satisfied as completely as the full moon is perfectly rounded. In truth the power of the Fujiwara Family culminated in his days. A contemporary writer described the conditions of the time in a work for which he found no title more appropriate than "the Story of Grandeur" *(Eigwa Monogatari)*.

The sons of Michinaga, Yorimichi and Norimichi, became *Kwampaku* in succession, and retained immense influence. But the gradual decline of the Fujiwara power dates from that time.

## SECTION VIII.

### *The Condition of the Upper Classes.—The development of Poetical and Prose Composition.*

The rude and unpolished but frugal and industrious habits gradually disappeared as the Heian Epoch grew older.

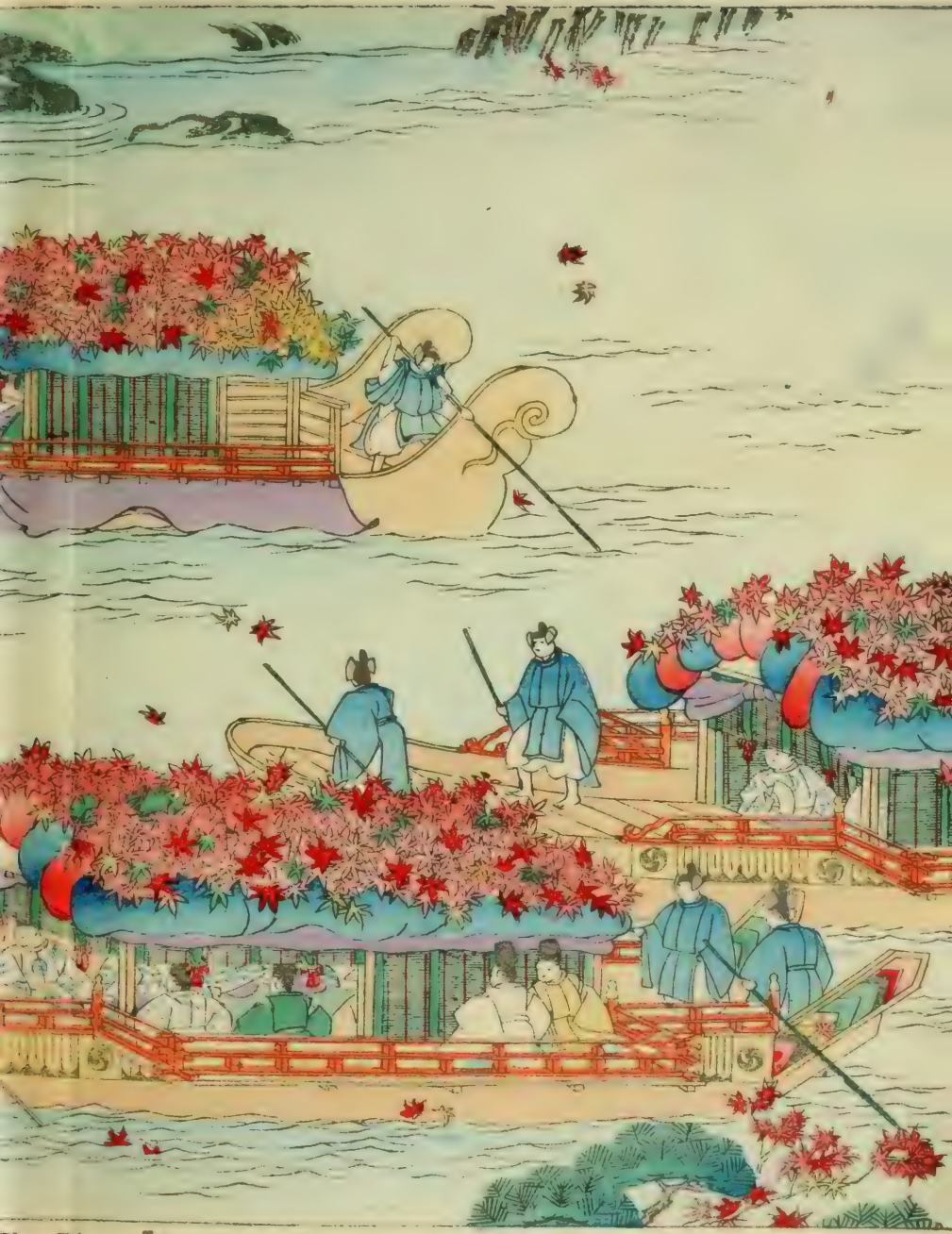
Instead of vigour and simple strength, luxury and effeminate gaud became the fashion. Society grew more and more enervated and self-indulgent. The metropolis, Heianjō, was the centre magnificence and the focus of pleasure. Reference has already been made to the spaciousness and grandeur of the Imperial Palace. The Princes and great nobles were scarcely less superbly housed. Every aristocratic dwelling consisted of a number of buildings. Within the principal gates stood places for vehicles—carriages drawn by oxen—and passing these, a second gate was reached, giving entrance to the enclosure within which the main edifice stood. On its east and west, as well as behind it, were buildings (called *tai*) containing private rooms for the members of the family, kitchens, and various other chambers, these wings being connected with the main edifice by corriders *(watadono)*, and the whole cluster having about it beautifully laid out grounds, for the art of decorative gardening had already reached a high stage of development. The residence of the chief Minister of State, Kaneiye, stood in the district Higashi-sanjō, and was constructed after the model of one of the Imperial Palaces, the Seiryōden. There had also grown up among nobles and men of affluence the habit of choosing in the suburbs some spot noted for scenic charms, and there building for themselves retreats on which all the artistic and decorative resources of the time were lavished. As for the Imperial Palace, however, from the time when it was destroyed by a conflagration (960 A.D.), it suffered a steady diminution of size and splendour, whereas the mansions of the Ministers of the Crown grew constantly larger and more magnificent, their inmates wearing gorgeous garments of rich brocades and elaborately embroidered silk. It had, indeed, been ordered by the Government that subjects should wear clothes

of a definite colour according to the rank they held. But the enactment ceased to be operative in the times of which we write. Officials, courtiers, and their families emulated one another in the richness of their apparel. When they went abroad, they rode in carriages resplendent with gold and silver. To those born in the house of a Minister, the reins of the Administration belonged as a birthright. All the inferior officials were nominated by them. The conduct of State affairs rested really in the hand of a few families, Sakanouye, Nakahara, Miyoshi, Kotsuki, Kiyowara, and others. By and by, the active discharge of official and administrative functions began to be despised by the higher classes, military training and the rude exercises of arms falling into especial disfavour. Thus it fell out that the nobles of the Court, having abundant leisure, were enabled to devote their time to literary culture, the elaboration of etiquette, and the pursuit of luxurious pleasures. Ariwara Narihira, the celebrated beau and dilettante of the times of the Emperors Montoku and Seiwa, was a typical specimen of these devotees of refinement. In the Imperial Court, at pleasant times in the fair seasons, on fine spring mornings or under the soft moonlights of autumn, réunions were held at which the guests vied with one another in making music and composing poetry. There were also specially appointed festive occasions: as, for example, entertainments in April (third month of the old calendar) when wine-cups were floated down stream; or in February (first month of old calendar) when young pines growing on the hills or in the fields were pulled up by the roots; or in the fall, to view the changing tints of the maples; the most aristocratic of all these festivities being one in which three picturesquely decorated boats were launched upon some river or lake and

filled exclusively with persons who excelled in some one of the "three accomplishments," namely, Chinese poetry, Japanese poetry, and music. In the reign of the Emperor Uda five fête days were established: New Year's Day; the 3rd of the 3rd month; the 5th of the 5th month; the 7th of the 7th month, and the 9th of the 9th month; to which were also added the festival of the "late moonlight" (13th of the 9th month), and the festival of "the last chrysanthemums." Of games played in-doors checkers *(go)* and a kind of dice (*sugoroku*) were much in vogue; while the favourite out-door sports were foot-ball, polo, and hawking, together with horse-racing and equestrian archery. At wine-feasts, various kinds of songs, some classical, some popular, were chaunted with dancing, and Chinese and Japanese stanzas were composed and sung. In the reigns of the Emperors Shirakawa, Horikawa, Toba, and others, personal adornment was carried so far that even men began to imitate women in the matter of painting their eye-brows and blackening their teeth, much as though they sought to disguise themselves in the likeness of the puppets set up at the festival of the 3rd month. Not inaptly did the wits of the time dub these mummers "lunar courtiers," or "elegants from cloud-land." On such occasions of festival and sport men and women of noble rank mixed freely, and laxity of morals ensued. The ceremony of marriage had been duly established, but wives still continued to live in their own houses, where they received the visits of their husbands. In short, pleasure was the first object of the time, and if men thought of anything more serious, it was only the building and endowment of a temple where prayers might be said and litanies sung for the prosperity of themselves and



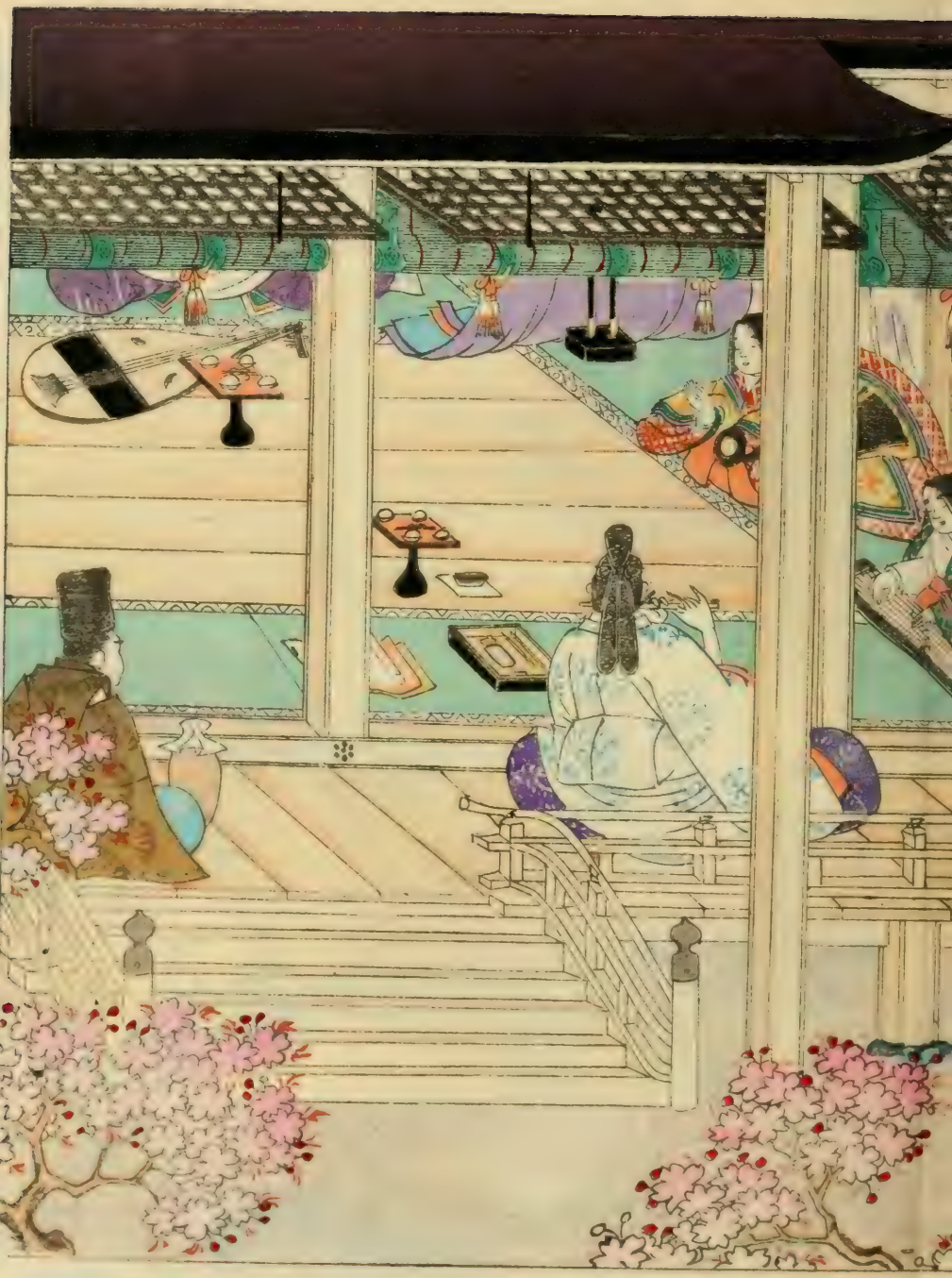

水野藤太郎刷



The River Ōi.







Scene in the House of On



f the Nobles.



their children in this world and their happiness in a future state.

As to the Japanese poetry on which so much of the attention of the time was concentrated, it is to be noted that from the establishment of the capital at Kyōto down to the reign of the Emperor Seiwa (793 to 873 A.D.), Chinese literature and Chinese poetry engrossed the whole intellect of the nation, Japanese poetry, which had made such remarkable progress during the Nara Epoch, being comparatively neglected. But in the days of Seiwa the tide flowed once more in the direction of Japanese poetry, and many poets worthy of note made their appearance in succession. Thus, in the *Engi* era (901 to 922 A.D.), the poet Ki-no-Tsurayuki attained to the rank of the celebrated Hitomaro and Akahito, and under the directions of the Emperor Daigo compiled a work called "Kokinshū," embodying all the best poems composed during the century and a half that followed the Manyō period. It was a book of twenty volumes, and it enjoys the distinction of being the first compilation of selected poems undertaken by order of the Sovereign. The most celebrated writers whose productions are included in the work are Sōjō-Henjō, Ariwara Narihira, Bunya-no-Yasuhide, Kisen-hōshi, Ōtomo-no-Kuronushi, and Ono-no-Komachi. Poems of many stanzas were not approved in those times, but short couplets were much affected. The art of composing them made great progress, and many that have been handed down from the era show considerable refinement of thought and language. From this epoch dates the distinction between poetical terms and the speech of every-day life. During the reign of the Emperor Murakami, fifty years after the compilation of the "Kokinshū," a school of poetry

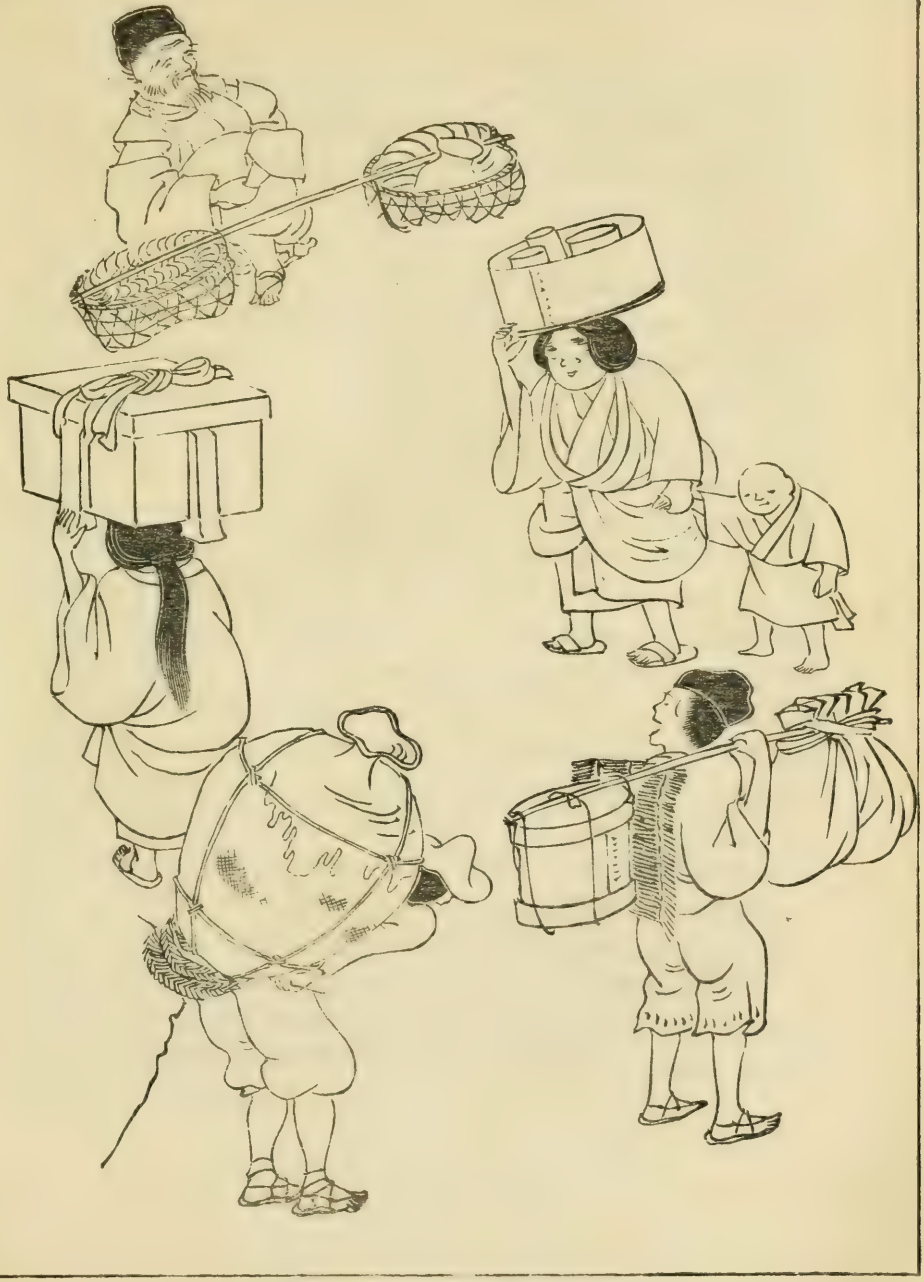
*(utadokoro)* was established in the Imperial Palace, and the Sovereign instructed five poets, headed by Minamoto Shitagō and Kiyowara Motosuke, to compile a poetical work by way of sequel to the "Kokinshū." Thenceforth Chinese poetry was subserved to Japanese, and the latter's composition became one of the chief pastimes in fashionable circles. All the Court nobles and high officials devoted themselves to the cultivation of the kind of literature, the business of the Administration being relegated to an altogether secondary place. Despite the ennervation and perfunctoriness that disfigured the life of the epoch, men continued to employ strength and zeal in the writing of poetry, so that no less than seven poetical compilations date from the period between the appearance of the "Kokinshū" and the early years of the Kamakura Shōgunate. From the latter time, throughout the years when the administrative power was vested in the hands of the military class, down to the division of the empire into the northern and southern sovereignties, fourteen poetical compilations were added to the literature of the country. These, with a former seven, are called the "Twenty-one Compilations," but it must be confessed that the later works of the series lack nerve and are disfigured by redundancy, their authors losing themselves in mere tricks of phraseology and flowers of speech. As might have been expected, the emasculation which the national character was undergoing left its mark upon the literature of the age.

Tsurayuki was skilled in prose writing as well as verse composition. A diary of travel, called the *Tosanikki*, is his most celebrated work in the former class. After the invention of the *Kana* syllabary, as already described, at the close of the Nara and the commencement of the Heian Epoch,

prose writing began to attract a wider field of students. Many varieties of composition, fictions, diaries, travels, and fugitive sketches, were added to the literature of the time. But as men who aspired to the title of scholar continued to write in Chinese ideographs, the domain of Japanese prose was occupied, almost exclusively, by women. It is recorded of the Emperor Ichijō (987-1012 A.D.) that he boasted that, although his own abilities did not entitle him to wear the Crown, his reign was not less rich in talented subjects than had been the reigns of even Daigo and Murakami, historically regarded as the best Sovereigns of the whole Imperial line. The boast had warrant. For in the era flourished Minamoto Tsunenobu, Fujiwara Kintō, Minamoto Toshikata, and Fujiwara Yukinari, to whom the title of the Four "Nagon" (*nagon* was the name of an office) has been given. Of female writers, too, quite a number rose to eminence. Among them may be mentioned Murasaki-Shikibu, Sei-Shōnagon, Akazome-Emon, Idzumi-Shikibu, and Ise-Ōsuke. Of these, Murasaki-Shikibu especially attracts attention, on account of her celebrated work, the *Genji-monogatari*, a book of fifty-four volumes. Sei-Shōnagon's name is remembered on account of the *Makura-no-sōshi*, one of the most polished literary sketches ever produced in Japan, as the *Genji monogatari* was a peerless novel. In respect of flowery and artistic style, these two works have always been placed at the head of Japanese prose compositions, though from the point of view of strict morality they are condemned.

In has already been noted that during the Nara Epoch there was a vast difference between the conditions of the people inhabiting the metropolis and those living in the country districts. A similar comment applies to the Heian Epoch. For while the nobility about the Court and the

high Administrative officials devoted themselves almost entirely to pleasure and vied with one another in luxury, simplicity and frugality prevailed in the country districts, and in some places the people's mode of life may almost be described as rough and uncivilized. Thus, while tiled roofs were common in Kyōto, the country folks dwelt in rude, lowly buildings thatched with straw or boards, devoting themselves chiefly to agriculture and in a less degree to industrial pursuits, and occupying their leisure hours with innocent games and sports in their rustic hamlets and huts. From the middle of the Heian Epoch we find a large variety of rural pastimes, the repertoire being increased by dwarf's dances, puppet shows, juggling, *biwa* minstrelsy, and other diversions. On the other hand, the administration of local affairs was very defective : sometimes, indeed, such abuses existed that the inhabitants of a district deserted their homes and wandered in search of more favourable conditions. The state of the roads left much to be desired : regulations for carriers and post-horses existed, but were put into operation for official convenience only ; people of the inferior classes, if they desired to travel, were obliged to carry on their backs not only food but also utensils for cooking it ; at sunset, they had no choice but to seek shelter in temples and shrines ; highway robberies were common ; means of communication and transport had only been partially established ; even when voyaging by river or sea, the most convenient way of getting from place to place, pirates had to be apprehended ; and altogether the state of affairs outside the capital compared very unfavourably with the luxury and refinement of life within its precints. A noticeable trait of the national character was strong love of cleanliness. People entertained an innate aversion to pollution, whether moral or physical. One consequence of this



The Life of Commoners.



disposition was that superstition prevailed greatly. Despite the issue of several proclamations, especially after the Taikwa Reforms, people were governed by such a strong aversion to the sight of sickness that travellers were often left to die by the roadside from thirst, hunger, or disease, and householders even went to the length of thrusting out of doors and abandoning to utter destitution servants who suffered from chronic maladies. When a man had witnessed something unclean, or when he considered himself polluted for any reason, it was the traditional custom to undergo a process of purification by strewing salt or pouring out briny water. In case of sickness, recourse was had to prayer in the first place, medical aid and drugs being regarded as secondary aids. In the capital, patients could consult physicians of repute, as Wake and Tamba, but in the country medical assistance was very difficult to procure. Thus, whenever, an epidemic occurred, the number of death that resulted was enormous. A school existed in every province, but as the students taught there were chiefly the sons of local governors and officials, education was not by any means general. The basis of all instruction was the inculcation of moral precepts. Even a devoted Buddhist like the Emperor Kōgen issued an order that in every house there must be kept a copy of the Confucian classic, *Kōkyō*. Examples of loyalty, filial piety, chastity, and fidelity were held up for public imitation, and the first aim of the authers of the age was to familiarize the people with these object lessons in morality.

## SECTION IX.

*Local Government System—Private Ownership of fixed Property—The Four Great Clans: Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana.—Military Institutions.—The Tengyō Rebellion.*

A feature of the great Taikwa Reforms had been that all the land in the country became the recognized property of the State, and at the same time the principle of allotment to individuals was established. Uncultivated lands, however, were suffered to remain in the possession of local officials and farmers. Originally the term of service for the governor of a province was fixed at four years, but in the reign of the Empress Kogen it was extended to six. Reappointment was generally an object of keen desire to these officials. They employed every possible means to compass it, since to remain in administrative control of a province for a long period signified opportunities of appropriating fertile land and the ultimate acquirement of large territolial possessions. In the case of the headman of a district, office was originally supposed to be for life. But even that limit soon fell into neglect, and the post was handed down from father to son through many generations. To check the abuses arising out of such a state of affairs, visiting inspectors were appointed in the reign of the Empress Genshō. These inspectors were chosen from among the ablest of the provincial governors. In a report addressed by one of them (762 A.D.) to the Emperor Junnin, this remarkable declaration occurs:—"No such thing as justice is now executed by any provincial governor in the realm." During the Heian Epoch the Emperor Heizei sought to mend matters by instituting the office of superintendent of pro-

vincial administrations, one superintendent being appointed for each of the eight circuits *(dō)*. Other Sovereigns frequently issued instructions designed in the same sense, but despite the orders of the Central Government and the influence of the superintendents, provincial governors continued to tread the old wonted paths, their selfish arbitrariness becoming more unbridled in proportion as the prestige of the administration in the capital grew feebler and the official organization more lax.

Nor were these habits of illegal land-appropriation confined to rural districts. Even in the metropolis men began to obtain territorial possessions. Under the terms of the *Taihō* statutes the incomes of members of the Imperial Family, of Ministers, and of other officials, were fixed. The emoluments of the Chief Minister of State were of four kinds; first, revenue from fixed property, amounting to three thousand houses; secondly, revenue on account of office, which was forty *chō*; thirdly, revenue on account of rank, which was 80 *chō*; and fourthly, a semi-annual allowance consisting of thirty pieces of silk (the kind called "pongee"); thirty bundles of cotton wadding, three hundred pieces of linen and one hundred and forty ploughs. He was also given personal guards, who, from the name which they bore *(shijin)*, seem to have acted in the capacity of vassals. (The guards attached to members of the Imperial Family were called *chōnai*, or "men within the curtain.") Sometimes special grants of land were made by the Sovereign, and to mark the Imperial appreciation of distinguished services it was customary to bestow "land for merit." The other Minister of the Crown received salaries on a proportionate scale. But as the prosperity of the capital increased and the scale of living

grew more luxurious, it became difficult for the Imperial Princes and Administrative officials to support their dignity by means of their salaries and allowance alone. Hence they set themselves to reclaim and cultivate waste lands, the produce of which supplemented their emoluments. Such lands were called "estates" *(shōyen)*, a term originally limited to lands granted to Princes and Ministers of State for the purpose of defraying expenditures incurred in connection with their positions, but now extended so as to apply also to land reclaimed and appropriated by these nobles. Even as early as the reigns of Kwammu and Saga the area of such estates was very great. Reference has already been made to the system of resuming and re-assigning allotted lands once in every six years, but the practice ceased to be operative, and when Seiwa was on the Throne (860 A.D.) land were found which had not been resumed for as much as fifty or sixty years. People not disposed to till their lands sold them, and rich folks began to acquire large tracts. This monopolization of the land by the wealthy classes was prohibited more than once by Notification, but it continued unchecked. Cunning people evaded the public obligations devolving on land-owners by nominally transferring their lands to powerful nobles or to temples, and themselves taking the position of stewards or superintendents. In that capacity they were called either "intendants" or "retainers," the ostensible holders of the land being known as "landlords." By degrees all the fertile districts and all the newly reclaimed lands were in that manner absorbed into the estates of the great nobles or of the temples, and since they were thus exempted from the control of the provincial governors as well as from the necessity of paying taxes, not only the power of the local

authorities but also the revenues of the centural Government gradually suffered diminution.

During the reign of the Emperor Kwammu the plan was introduced of reducing to the rank of subjects and giving family names to such of the Imperial Princes as were of inferior descent on the mother's side. Kwammu's son, Saga, who had so many children that the revenue of the Imperial Household did not suffice to maintain them, followed the precedent established by his father, giving the name "Minamoto" to several of his sons. Thenceforth the device passed into a custom, and Imperial Princes were frequently appointed to official positions in the Central or Local Governments under the family names of Minamoto or Taira. Those who obtained the posts of Provincial Governors acquired large influence in the districts administered by them, their descendants becoming military chiefs with great followings of relatives and retainers. The Minamoto Clan comprised no less than fourteen families, among them the descendants of the Emperor Seiwa being the most numerous and conspicuous. It was from that clan that the celebrated Yoritomo subsequently sprang. The Taira Clan, on the other hand, consisted of four families, principally descendants of the Emperor Kwammu. To it belonged the great Kiyomori. Such was the origin of the clans in Japanese history. Thenceforth the four clans, Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana overshadowed all other families and played the leading parts on the Japanese national stage.

It has already been noted that an office called *Kebii-shi-chō* was created, exercising wide functions of police and so forth. Under the system elaborated by the *Taihō* re-

formers, garrisons of fixed strength were established in all the provinces, and in the metropolis were guards of five kinds. Men for service in the garrisons and guards were levied by conscription from among the people, those upon whom the lot fell being required to join the nearest garrison. Persons owing horses were drafted into the cavalry; the rest into the infantry. Of the soldiers thus levied, a part were sent to Dazai-fu, in Kiushū to defend the Western coast; and a part to Kyōto, which they were required to guard. The military organization was very complete. Equestrian archery, the use of the sword, and the manipulation of long spears, were the arts taught to the soldiers. For the defence of the coasts catapults also were used. The metropolitan troops grew more and more effeminate as years of peace succeeded each other. The Six Guards also ceased to be serviceable, and the high police court *(Danjōtai)* was so inactive that it failed either to prosecute unjust officials or to arrest offenders against the law. Hence the power and influence of the *Kebiishi* increased constantly. As time went by, bandits and marauders pillaged the provinces, especially those in the east, and the coasts of Nankaidō and Chūgoku were infested by pirates. Consequently, from the reign of the Emperor Montoku (850 A.D.) *Kebiishi* were stationed in every province, and in the days of the Emperor Shujaku (930 A.D.) an Inspector-General *(Ōryōshi)* was appointed in the eastern districts. These various offices were eagerly sought after by the *samurai* (military men) of the Minamoto, Taira, and Fujiwara clans, who regarded them as means of showing their capacity and satisfying their ambition. In this way the ascendency of the military classes was gradually established.

In the second year of the *Tengyō* era (939 A.D.), the

Emperor Shujaku being on the Throne, a family of the Taira Clan rebelled against the Imperial authority. This was in the eastern provinces. Taira-no-Takamochi, a great-grandson of the Emperor Kwammu, had been appointed Vice-Governor of the province of Kadzusa. There his family gradually grew in numbers and influence, some of them becoming governors of the Provinces of Kadzusa, Shimoosa, and Hidachi. Among Takamochi's grandsons there was a daring but fierce soldier, by name Masakado. Though of Imperial descent, he obeyed the custom of the time, namely, that every *Samurai* must obtain a livelihood by entering the service of the Fujiwara Clan. Masakado became a vassel of Fujiwara-no-Tadahira, through whose influence he hoped to obtain the office of *Kebiishi.* But his aspiration was not satisfied, and being incensed by failure, he returned to the province of Shimoosa, gathered a number of disaffected warriors to his standard, and made organized attacks upon the Governors of the neighbouring provinces. He established his head-quarters at Ishii, in the district of Sashima, nominated certain of his followers to be officers of his court, after the model of the Governmental system in Kyōto, and on the strength of being descended from a Sovereign, proclaimed himself Emperor. In the whole course of Japanese history this is the only instance of a rebellion directed against the Throne. Simultaneously with this disturbance in the eastern provinces, Fujiwara-no-Sumitomo, who held the third post in the government of Iyo province, revolted against the constituted Authorities. These two rebellions shook the whole empire. Yet the Imperial Court remained for a long time ignorant of the dangers that were impending. When finally the news reached Kyōto, it caused much consternation. A general was quickly despatched against the rebels in the

eastern provinces, but befor he arrived there, Masakado's cousin, Taira-no-Sadamori, and Fujiwara-no-Hidesato, Inspector-General of Shimotsuke, defeated and killed Masakado. In the west, Sumitomo was able for a brief period to retain the ascendency, but he too was ultimately defeated and taken prisoner by Ono-no-Yōshifuru and Minamoto-no-Tsunemoto, who had been sent to attack him. These two revolts are known in history as the *Tengyō* Rebellions." Tsunemoto was a gradson of the Emperor Seiwa. He founded the renowned clan of Minamoto. The precedent thus established, namely, that of one military clan applying itself to quell the rebellion of another, was followed in after years, with the inevitable result that the military clans became the chief factors in the State.

Ninety years after the *Tengyō* Rebellions, that is to say, in the reign of the Emperor Goichijō, Taira-no-Tadatsune, Vice-Governor of the province of Kadzusa, revolted and obtained possession of the provinces of Kadzusa and Shimoosa. He was defeated, however, by Minamoto-no-Yorinobu, a grandson of Tsunemoto. At that time, Yorinobu's father, Mitsunaka, and his brother, Yorimitsu, were famed for excellence in the science of arms and strategy, as well as for bravery, and were regarded as the mainstays of the Imperial authority. Twenty years after the rebellion of Tadatsune, during the reign of Goreizei, Abe-no-Yoritoki, chieftain of an inferior tribe in Mutsu, together with his son Sadatō, raised an insurrection, the disturbances resulting from which lasted for nine years, and were known as the Nine Years' War. Yet again, thirty years later, Kiyowara Takehira and his nephew Iyehira rebelled, throwing the provinces of Mutsu and Dewa into a state of tumult. This revolt was called the Three

Years' War. The two insurrections were quelled respectively by Yoriyoshi, the son, and Yoshiiye, the grandson of Yorinobu. Thus the influence of the Minamoto Clan became paramount among the military men of the eastern provinces.

Nobles who possessed large tracts of land were called *Daimyō* (lit. great name), their vassals going by the name of *Iyenoko* (servitors) or *Rōdō* (retainers). As the military class increased in numbers, it became expedient to distinguish one house from another, and many appellations were consequently formed by suffixing to the name of a clan the name of the place where the person resided or of the hereditary office which he held. *Samurai* belonging to the Fujiwara Clan began to call themselves Saitō, Satō, Kondō, Kudō, and so forth, while the branch families of the Minamoto employed such names as Yamato Genji, Tada-Genji, Watanabe, Matsura, etc. Eight families, all of Taira kinship, were located in the eastern provinces. Family names thus adopted were designated *myōji*. It was in this era that the house names now used in Japan had their origin.

Almost all the provinces were parcelled out among the military class. That was especially the case with the eastern provinces. It is true that appointments of provincial governors continued to be made. But their functions were purely nominal. The control of local administration rested with the holders of the land. The so-called "governors" did not proceed to the places of their appointment, but remained quietly in the capital.

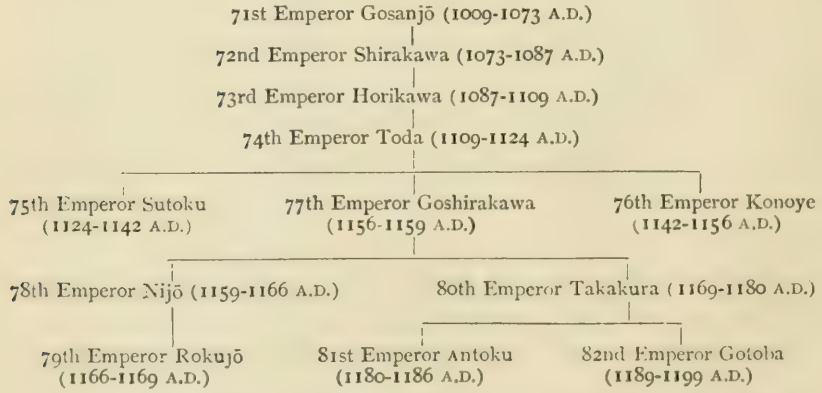
Courtiers and officials of the Central Government despised administrative duties, whether civil or military. Hence,

in the event of a disturbance, or of a feud among themselves about the grasp of power, they were driven to rely upon the military classes, thus involuntary but surely strengthening the influence of the men whom they professed to contemn. Briefly speaking, although the Fujiwara remained in Kyōto and filled all the important posts in the Central Government, their sway was only apparent. The reins of State affairs were in reality held by the military classess dispersed throughout the provinces.

## SECTION X.

### *Interference of abdicated Emperors in State Affairs.*

TABLE SHOWING LINEAGE AND SUCCESSION OF SOVEREIGNS.




Fujiwara Michinaga, the most powerful chief of the great clan, died in the third year of the *Manju* era (1687 of the Japanese Empire; 1027 A.D.), during the reign of Goichijō. His son, Yorimichi, succeeded to his official position and remained Chief Minister of State during fifty years. The power and influence of the Fujiwara reached their zenith at that epoch.

The Emperor Goshujaku abdicated in favour of the Heir Apparent—who reigned as Goreizei—and at the same time appointed his second son, Takahito, to be Heir Apparent in succession to Goreizei. Takahito's mother did not belong to the Fujiwara Clan: she was a daughter of the Emperor Sanjō. This departure from the established custom that the Sovereign or Heir Apparent should always choose his consort from the Fujiwara Family, caused much umbrage to the Chief Minister of State, Yorimichi, but the latter's brother, Yoshinobu, supported the Emperor's choice, and Yorimichi was induced to accede. The Prince whose consort had been the subject of this friction, subsequently succeeded to the Throne as the renowned Emperor Gosanjō (1069-1073 A.D.) Having been Crown Prince during a long interval, he had acquired familiarity with State Affairs. Moreover, his erudition was extensive, and his character vigorous, enterprising, and austere. He had conceived a strong aversion for the over-bearing manners of the great nobles of his time, and immediately after his succession he declared that, so far as he was concerned, the Fujiwara Clan were not Imperial relatives. Yorimichi was obliged to resign office and retire to Uji. It is true that he was succeeded in the post of Chief Minister by his brother Norimichi. But the appointment was only in name: the political power reverted in reality to the Imperial Family. This Soverign devoted all his energies to restore order in administrative affairs. He urged the duty of economy; interdicted the re-appointment of provincial governors to the same districts on the expiration of their official terms; and eliminated many other abuses. But after a brief reign of only four years, this sagacious monarch resigned his Throne to the Heir Apparent, who became the Emperor Shirakawa. Gosanjō's purpose seems

to have been to continue and complete his reforms after abdicating. But heaven was not propitious. He died within the year of his resignation, regretted by the whole nation. Even Yorimichi, whose loss of power might have inspired a sentiment of hostility, was constrained to admire the Sovereign's character and to mourn his death, saying that no greater calamity had befallen the country.

The Emperor Shirakawa resembled his father in energy of character. Administrative affairs were all controlled by him, the Fujiwara Family being reduced to a condition of comparative dependence. He reigned fourteen years, and abdicated in favour of his son, Horikawa. But despite this transfer of the sceptre, the administrative power remained in the hands of the ex-Emperor. Then, for the first time, was the ex-Emperor's Court duly organized. His Ministers were called *Betto*. A considerable force of soldiers was under his orders. He virtually directed affairs of State. The title of the ex-Emperor was *Insei* (camera Administrator). Thenceforth the reigning Sovereign had only to fold his hands and follow the counsels of his predecessor. His own orders carried no weight. His Ministers and officials had no functions to discharge except to be present at occasional Court ceremonials. Thus was effected the transfer of Administrative power from the reigning to the ex-Emperor with corresponding diminution of the former's visible responsibility—a singular phase of Japanese history.

The Emperor Gosanjō made earnest endeavours to check the growth of great landed estates, but the accumulated evils of that abuse proved too much for his control. His successor, Shirakawa, though exercising full administrative sway, was not so frugal as his father had

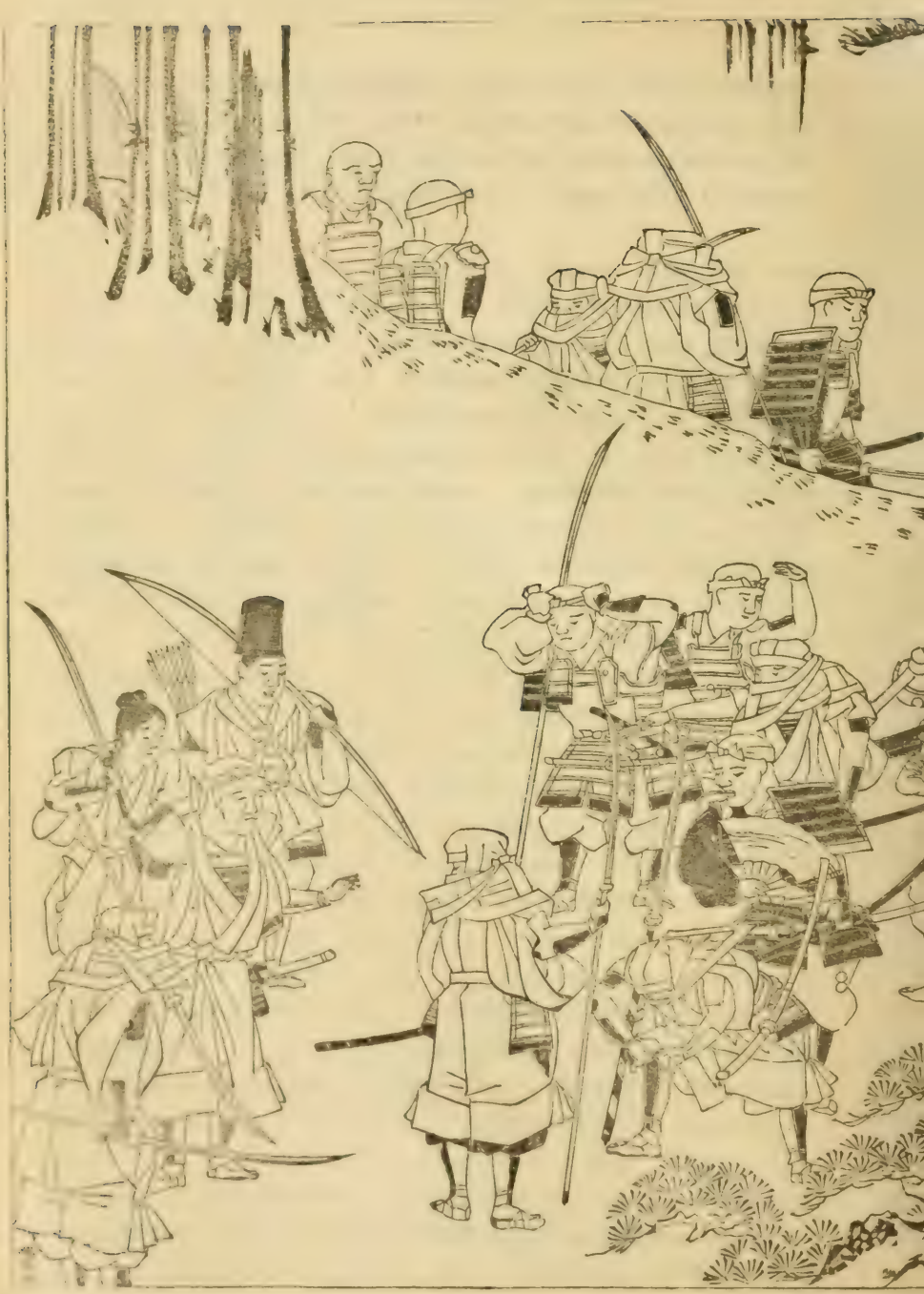
been. He levied taxes for the purpose of building a palace at Toba. That Imperial edifice was on a scale of great magnificence and the grounds surrounding it were laid out in elaborate style, with artificial hills, lakes, and rockeries of unprecedented extent. Other palaces and parks were also constructed; new kinds of entertainment were devised, and luxury was carried to an extravagant height. Further, the Emperor Shirakawa was deeply devoted to Buddhism. His enthusiasm in that respect did not fall short of the zeal of his predecessor Shōmu. More than ten State visits were paid by him to the temples at Kōya and Kumano. Many religious edifices were built under his patronage. In truth, the Buddhist images and richly decorated temples erected at that epoch might be counted by thousands, immense sums of money being lavished for such purposes, as well as for the celebration of religious rites or for alms which the priests distributed. To kill animals, birds, or insects was strictly interdicted in every part of the Empire. The repasts in the Palace itself consisted of vegetables only, fish or flesh not being used. Many Princes of the Blood took the scarf and cowl, thus establishing a precedent afterwards largely followed under the name of *Hō-shinnō* (priest princes).

Indulgence in luxury and lavish devotion to Buddhism naturally depleted the coffers of the State. Offices began to be sold for money. It is true that the lands throughout the country were, for the most part, in the possession of territorial magnates, and that the area falling under the control of provincial governors was small. Nevertheless, men were found who aspired to possess the title of governor and were willing to purchase it with large quantities of grain and silk. In this way the office of provincial

governor became hereditary in more than thirty instances, and the purpose of the *Taihō* statutes was completely frustrated. The Penal Code enacted and promulgated in the same era *(Taihō)* had already long ceased to be operative.

The facts that, from the Nara Epoch onwards, men of all ranks, from Ministers of State to private persons, gave zealous allegiance to Buddhism, and that priests of the highest talents and erudition applied themsevles to propagate the faith so that it spread throughout the land, have been sufficiently emphasized above. It must be noted, however, that, as we learn from a memorial presented by Miyoshi Kiyotsura in the *Engi* era (901-922 A.D.), the priests of Buddha, inflated by the reverence which they received from the people, grew haughty and overbearing. The temples, in many cases, became possessed of extensive estates; that disputes arose among the sects, and that military forces were maintained at some of the monasteries. Conspicuous among all the temples for wealth and magnificence were the *Enryaku-ji* at Hieizan, founded by Dengyō Daishi, and the *Kōfuku-ji* at Nara, the family mausoleum of the great Fujiwara House. These two buildings were termed *Hokurei* and *Nanto*, respectively. The temple *Onjō-ji*, or Miidera, was scarcely less prosperous than either of the above, and in a cagetory not much lower may be placed such temples as *Shichidai-ji*, *Jūdai-ji*, and *Jūgodai-ji*. It was at the *Enryaku-ji* that the custom had its origin of employing military forces to protect Buddhism. There, for the first time, priests were trained in the arts of war. These, sacerdotal soldiers were called *Sōhei*. The principle of maintaining them was adopted at many temples, but nowhere did the *Sōhei* exhibit such truculence as in the case of *Enryaku-ji*. When the Lord High Abbot of a





Sōhei (sac



tal soldiers).



temple was appointed, it was the custom that the priests of the temple, if they objected to the appintment, or if, subsequently, they had cause of complaint against his ministration, should appeal to the Imperial Court for his removal. On such occasions, it became habitual for the complainants to wear armour and carry bow and spear when they submitted their grievance. They did not shrink even from attacking the residence of the *Kwampaku*. During the reign of Shirakawa, the military priests, relying on the Sovereign's marked devotion to their creed, developed such lawless independence that on more than one occasion they entered Kyōto in turbulent force, dragging with them the sacred cars of Hie, Kitano, and so forth. This conduct caused the Emperor grave anxiety, but he appears to have been unable to check it. On one occasion, lamenting the arbitrary conduct of the Buddhists, he said:—"There are but three things in my dominions that do not obey me: the waters of the Kamo River, the dice of Sugoroku players, and the priests of Buddha." Finally, the Sovereign was driven to invite the Minamoto Clan to defend him against the rebellious proceedings of the priests, and from that time dates an era of feuds between the followers of religion and of the sword. The priests of *Enryaku-ji* were not alone in their contumacious conduct. From the *Nanto* also came a body of *Sōhei*, carrying with them the sacred car of Kasuga and menacing the Palace. Against these rioters it was difficult for the martial defenders of the Court to adopt efficient measures, their hands being restrained by respect for the sacred symbols which the truculent priests escorted. So, too, at other temples in the environs of the city soldiers were trained, and the disorders and bloodshed resulting from this system seriously disturbed the tranquillity of the capital. It is on record that there were included

among these fighting priests men originary belonging to the military class, who, failing to obtain promotion in the regular routine of feudal administration, adopted the cowl as a means of working out their ambitious designs.

## SECTION XI.

### *The Hōgen and Heiji Insurrections.—The Rise and Fall of the Taira (Hei) Family.*

The ex-Emperor Shirakawa ultimately became a *Hō-ō*, that is to say, adopted the tonsure and devoted himself nominally to a life of religion. His son Horikawa, a man of much intelligence, brought great zeal to the discharge of his Imperial functions, but failed to achieve anything noteworthy, the administration being virtually directed and controlled by the ex-Emperor, even after he had ostensibly retired from public life. The succeeding Sovereigns, Sutoku and Toba, continued in the same groove of unreal authority, the *Hō-ō* being always the actual ruler. Shirakawa died in the 4th year of the *Daiji* era (1130 A.D.), while the Emperor Sutoku occupied the Throne, and after his death, the ex-Emperor Toba assumed charge of administrative affairs and held it for 28 years. During that interval the Buddhist soldiers behaved with the greatest lawlessness, constantly disturbing the peace of the capital, and the military class simultaneously became turbulent and vicious. Among these scenes of tumult and violence, the Court itself was torn by disputes and its corruption became a subject of public scandal. Toba, after he became *Hō-ō*, had many female favourites, of whom Bifuku-mon-in enjoyed the largest share of his affections. Being on bad terms with his eldest son, the reigning Sovereign, Toba took advantage of

the birth of a son by Bifuku-mon-in to bring about the abdication of the Emperor and cause his favourite's child to succeed to the Throne at the age of two years. This was the Emperor Konoye. His uncle, Fujiwara-no-Tadamichi, was appointed Regent. The ex-Emperor, Sutoku, being still young, was much incensed at having been obliged to abdicate. Hence when Konoye died, after a reign of 14 years Sutoku desired ardently that his son, Prince Shigehito, should succeed to the Throne. The Regent Tadamichi had a brother named Yorinaga, whose partial treatment by their father had produced a feud between them. Yorinaga, a man of activity, erudition, and ability, then held the post of Second Minister of State. He strongly supported the design of the ex-Emperor Sutoku. Bifuku-mon-in and Tadamichi, on their side, acting in concert with the *Hō-ō*, Toba, opposed the accession of Prince Shigehito, and alleged in objection that the untimely death of the Emperor Konoye had resulted from sorcery practised by Sutoku. The candidate to whom they gave their support was Goshirakawa, brother of Konoye, who was counted a youth of inferior capacity. Sutoku's anger against these proceedings was intense. Being informed just then of the death of the *Hō-ō*, Toba, he proceeded to the latter's palace, but the guards refused to admit him, pretending that the deceased had desired the exclusion. This insult incensed Sutoku beyond endurance. Repairing to the residence of Yorinaga, he took council with him, and finally, retiring to the Shirakawa Palace, declared open war against his opponents, being bravely succoured by Minamoto-no-Tameyoshi, Taira-no-Tadamasa, and their followers. Bifuku-mon-in and Tadamichi placed the young Emperor, Goshirakawa, in the Higashi Sanjō Palace. They counted among their chief allies Yoshitomo, the eldest son of Tameyoshi, Minamoto-no-Yoshimasa, and Kiyomori, the

nephew of Tadamasa. One sanguinary engagement sufficed to break the power of Sutoku. He became a priest, but was ultimately exiled to Sanuki. Yorinaga died of an accidentally inflicted arrow-wound, and Tameyoshi and Tadamasa, together with many other men of note, were slain. The name of the era being thereafter changed to *Hōgen*, this affair was spoken of by posterity as the Hōgen Insurrection. The battle that ended the long struggle lasted for only one day, but its character and circumstances can never be forgotten. It was veritably an internecine fight; Sutoku against his brother Goshirakawa; Tadamichi against his brother Yorinaga; Tameyoshi against his son Yoshitomo; Tadamasa against his nephew Kiyomori. From time immemorial no such unnatural contest had been waged in Japan. Men spoke of it in after years as the battle that destroyed human relations and ignored all the principles of morality. Four hundred and eighty-five years previously, there had occurred a quarrel of a similar nature between two Emperors. It was the Jinshin Insurrection, a sufficiently lamentable incident, but not comparable in some respects with the affair just related. The origin of the Hōgen disturbance is to be ascribed to the fact that the ex-Emperor Toba had many female favourites who interfered in the Administration of State affairs, with the result that the councils of the Court were swayed by partiality, and that just cause of indignation was given to men of eminence. But these sources of trouble were greatly accentuated by the struggle then in progress between the Fujiwara brothers, each of whom aimed at obtaining the chief office in the Government. If, however, the history of the time be studied still more closely, we find that while the above factors were proximately responsible for what occurred, the more remote causes may be traced to the early years of the Heian Epoch,





Battle at



e Taiken Gate.

when public morality began to be corrupted, and men devoted themselves to the attainment of unworthy objects, careless of name and fame.

The Hōgen disturbance had not long been settled when fresh troubles arose. Among the Councillors of State at that era, Fujiwara-no-Michinori, who had stood high in the estimation of the Emperor Goshirakawa, was a conspicuously able politician. Even after the accession of the Emperor Nijō, Michinori continued to enjoy the Imperial confidence. But he had many enemies. In connection with some private affair he had given deep umbrage to Fujiwara-no-Nobuyori, an official holding the office of *Chūnagon Kebiishi* (Councillor of State and Chief Police Official), who had been a favourite of the Emperor Goshirakawa after the latter's abdication. Minamoto-no-Yoshitomo also was disaffected. Believing that his services in the Hōgen disturbance had been more meritorious than those of Taira-no-Kiyomori, he nevertheless saw the latter rewarded with much greater liberality; and having offered his own daughter in marriage to a son of Michinori, the proposal had been abruptly declined, Michinori choosing Kiyomori's daughter in preference. Nobuyori and Yoshitomo ultimately raised the standard of revolt, in the first year of the *Heiji* era (1159 A.D.), and having secured the cöoperation of the ex-Emperor (Goshirakawa) by intimidation, forced their way into the Palace and obtained possession of the person of the reigning Sovereign. Nobuyori then procured for himself the posts of Chief Minister of State and Generalissimo, promoted Yoshitomo, and caused Michinori to be put to death. The revolution was short-lived. Nobuyori had not administered the affairs of State for ten days before the Emperor made his escape to the Mansion of Taira-no-Kiyomori, and

the ex-Emperor to the temple Ninnaji. Thereupon Kiyomori with his son Shigemori attacked the insurgents and utterly routed them. Nobuyori was captured and slain. Yoshitomo succeeded in effecting his escape to Owari, but was finally put to death by the Taira adherents. All the other leaders of the rebellion and those who had prominently participated in it, were exiled. This affair is known as the Heiji Insurrection. The power of the Minamoto Clan had been greatly broken in the Hōgen disturbance, when Tameyoshi and his followers fell, and the loss of Yoshitomo and his adherents in the Heiji trouble brought the great Clan almost to complete ruin. Among the few of its scions who survived was Yoritomo, the son of Yoshitomo. He was exiled to the eastern provinces, thence to emerge at a later date and win one of the greatest names in Japanese history.

After the quelling of the Heiji disturbance, the Taira Family attained prëeminent prosperity and power. The fortunes of this great house had been materially advanced by Tadanori, a brave and able captain, who enjoyed the favour of the ex-Emperor Toba. His son Kiyomori, also a man of daring and decision, raised the family's prestige still higher by his services at the Hōgen crisis, and carried it to its zenith by the conspicuous ability of his action in the Heiji disturbance. On the other hand, the rival family of Minamoto having been reduced to insignificance by the death of its chief, Yoshitomo, and by the events that immediately ensued, the whole military power of the empire came into the hands of the Taira Family. Kiyomori was promoted to the position of Gondainagon (Vice-Councillor of State), an event that attracted much attention. The Taira Family, though of Imperial lineage, had been looked down upon by the high Court nobles on account of its

military career, and it was considered a notable occurrence that Kiyomori should have been nominated to a post of such consequence. This was, in truth, the first instance of a military noble's participation in the administration of State affairs, and it may be regarded as the dawn of an era when they were to fall entirely under military control.

The sister of Kiyomori's wife bore a son to the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa. Kiyomori's favour at Court was so great that he succeeded in getting this child named Heir Apparent, and it ultimately ascended the Throne as Takakura Tennō, after the abdication of Rokujō. Throughout the reign of Takakura the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa was the actual ruler. Meanwhile, Kiyomori had steadily progressed in Imperial favour, until, in the second year of the *Ninnan* era (1167), he became chief minister of State. Shortly afterwards, however, he resigned that post, and taking the tonsure, became a priest under the name of Jōkai. None the less he remained at his previous place of residence, Rokuhara attending to the management of State affairs as before. From that time dates the custom subsequently followed by the military class of making Rokuhara the seat of administration.

When the influence of Kiyomori reached its zenith, he conceived the design of securing permanent official supremacy for himself and his heirs by contriving that the consort of the Sovereign should be taken from his family, as had been the habit in the case of the Fujiwara. In pursuance of that project, he induced the Emperor to marry his daughter. Shigemori, his son, held the important offices of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Generalissimo of the Left, while almost the whole of his kinsmen

and followers occupied prominent positions in the central and local Governments. The number of provinces over which the sway of the clan extended was more than thirty, and it came to be a saying of the time that nobody who was anybody belonged to any family except that of Taira. The members of the Fujiwara Clan could not compete with those of the Taira. Even the Regent, Motofusa, and the Chief Minister of State, Motomichi, saw themselves reduced to comparative insignificance. Naturally such conspicuous ascendency caused offence in many quarters. Thus, the Court Councillor Fujiwara-no-Narichika, a favourite official of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa, in combination with several others, elaborated a plot to overthrow the Taira sway. But the scheme was detected, and its authors and promoters were all put to death by order of Kiyomori. Having been informed that the ex-Emperor—then *Hō-ō*—had countenanced the plot, Kiyomori conceived for him a strong hatred, which was greatly accentuated when, on the death of the Taira chief's son Shigemori, the ex-Emperor, after consultation with Motofusa, caused the estates of the deceased nobleman to be confiscated. Too haughty to brook such a slight, Kiyomori set out from his mansion at Fukahara, and entering Kyōto, caused the ex-Emperor to be seized and confined in the Toba Palace, thirty-nine of his Majesty's high officials being dismissed at the same time. Even towards the reigning Sovereign himself the demeanour of the Taira chief was so arrogant and his methods were so arbitrary, that the Emperor finally abdicated in favour of the Crown Prince, who reigned under the name of Antoku. This Sovereign was the son of the retiring Emperor and his mother was Kiyomori's daughter, so that the Taira Family then stood towards the Imperial House in the same relation

as that formerly occupied by the Fujiwara. Moreover, not only did they stand in such a relation and enjoy all the administrative privileges that it conferred, but they slso possessed the whole military power of the time, their position thus being one of unprecedented influence and supremacy. Nevertheless, even among the members of a family so puissant, there were to be found some feeble nobles who had no skill in military exercises nor could boast any accomplishment except the art of composing stanzas, playing on musical instruments, or practising some effeminate pastime.

Among the members of the Minamoto Family at the time of which we write was one Yorimasa, who, incensed by the arbitrary proceeding of the Taira officials, persuaded Prince Mochihito, son of the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa and brother-in-law of the Emperor Takakura, to form an alliance with the priests of *Onjō-ji* and *Kōfuku-ji*, their object being to expel Kiyomori from Court and to rescue the ex-Emperor from his confinement in the Toba Palace. In the fifth month of the year of Antoku's succession (1180 A.D.), Prince Mochihito sent Yukiiye, younger brother of the late Yoshitomo, to the Minamoto Family in the eastern provinces, carrying an edict which summoned them to rise and overthrow the Taira Family. Meanwhile, the scheme having been discovered in Kyōto, the Prince set out, escorted by Yorimasa, for Nanto or Nara, where he purposed to take refuge. On their way thither, however, they were attacked and their force defeated at Uji by a body of troops under Shigehira who had been sent by Kiyomori to intercept them. Yorimasa committed suicide, and the Prince died of a wound received from a stray arrow. Thereafter the confinement of the ex-Emperor became still more rigorous. In

Kyōto Kiyomori found himself threatened from time to time by the Buddhist troops of *Nanto* and *Hokurei*, so that finally, despite the opposition of many notables, he decided to remove the capital to Fukuhara, where his own mansion was situated. He constructed a fine harbour at the site of Fukuhara near Hyōgo, and caused a canal to be cut between Aki and Bingo to facilitate navigation. That excavation was called Ondo-no-seto.

In the eighth month of the year 1180 A.D., the exile, Minamoto-no-Yoritomo, in obedience to the mandate of Prince Mochihito, raised a force of troops in the island of Izu. Many partizans flocked to his standard from Kwantō, the former seat of Minamoto influence. In the ninth month another Minamoto chief, Yoshinaka, also took the field in the Prince's cause, his head-quarters being at Kiso, in Shinano, where he collected a large body of soldiers. Kiyomori lost no time despatching a powerful army against the rebels, but his forces suffered defeat and were driven back to Fukuhara. Meanwhile, Kiyomori, finding that public opinion resented the removal of the capital to Fukuhara, transferred it again to Kyōto, whither also the Emperor and the ex-Emperor returned.

After the discomfiture of the army sent by the Taira chief against Yoritomo and Yoshinaka, many puissant warriors of the Hokuriku region threw in their lot with the Minamoto, and the force at the latter's disposal assumed formidable dimensions. Even the great temples in the vicinity of the capital opened communications with the insurgents. Exasperated by this action on the part of the priests, Kiyomori sent troops to attack the temple *Onjō-ji*, which was reduced to ashes. An army was also

marched against Nanto, and the celebrated temples *Tōdai-ji* and *Kōfuku-ji* were burned to the ground, all the lands attached to them being confiscated. These extreme measures served to temporarily check the active exercise of priestly power, but did not affect the prestige of the Minamoto, whose strength continued to grow rapidly. Kiyomori finally saw himself compelled to relax the ex-Emperor's confinement, and even to allow him to resume an active part in the administration of State affairs. But in the year 1182, the great Taira chief was stricken by a fatal malady, and expired after a brief illness. He was succeeded by his son Munemori, who did not spare to direct all the strength of the clan against the Minamoto, But fortune shone on the latter's arms in several encounters, until, in the seventh month of 1183 A.D., Minamoto-no-Yoshinaka inflicted a signal defeat on the Taira forces in a pitched battle, and dividing his own army into two bodies, pushed, *viâ* the Tōsan and Hokuriku routes, as far as the temple *Enryaku-ji* in the immediate vicinity of Kyōto, where he was secretly visited at night by the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa. The Emperor Antoku now fled westward, carrying with him the Three Sacred Insignia, and escorted by Munemori and the Taira forces. Efforts were made by the ex-Emperor to induce the Sovereign to return, but Munemori would not suffer anothing of the kind. In the eighth month of that year (1183 A.D.) Antoku and his train reached Dazaifu, in Kyūshū. The Taira clan wielded great influence in that part of the empire. Munemori was joined by all the principal fighting men of the locality, and being further re-inforced by many warriors from the island of Shikoku, found himself once more at the head of a powerful army.

After the departare of the Emperor Antoku from

Kyōto, the capital was without a Sovereign and the Government without a head. The ex-Emperor, after counsel with his ministers, caused the fourth son of the late Emperor, Takakura, to ascend the Throne under the name of Gotoba. The designation of the era was, at the same time, changed to *Genryaku*. This was the first coronation ceremony ever conducted without due transfer of the Three Sacred Insignia to the new monarch.

There were thus two Emperors simultaneously ruling; a situation almost analogous with that created at a later date when Imperial Courts were organized in the north and in the south at the same time—the *Nanchō* and the *Hokuchō*.

The forces of the Taira and the Minamoto fought many battles in the Kyūshū and Chūgoku districts, the gains and losses being tolerably even on both sides. But by degrees the military magnates along the Sanyō, Nankai, and Saikai lines joined the Taira army, and its strength became so irresistible that it marched toward Kyōto, escorting Antoku. Thus the Taira saw themselves once more established at Fukuhara. They organized their lines of defence, making Fukuhara their base, and Ikuta and Ichinotani their eastern and western outposts, respectively.

Meanwhile Yoshinaka, the Minamoto leader, had become so insolent as to be imprecated and dreaded by friend and vassal alike. He also quarrelled with Yoritomo, who had hitherto confined his military operations to the eastern provinces, but who now sent his two brothers, Noriyori and Yoshitsune, to attack Yoshinaka. The two former generals gained battles at Uji and Seta. Yoshinaka's

forces suffered a signal defeat, Yoshinaka himself being slain, and the victors pushed on in triumph to Ichinotani to attack the Taira. The first conflict went in favour of the Minamoto. Their opponents were broken with loss of many stout soldiers. Munemori and the remnant of his troops retreated to Yashima, in Sanuki, continuing as before to carry with them the child Emperor, Antoku. In the second month of the fourth year of the *Juei* era (or the first year of the *Bunji* era, namely 1184 A.D.), Yoshitsune and his brother reached Yashima, in pursuit, and after a fierce fight the Taira were again defeated. Resuming their retreat and still carrying with them the Emperor, Antoku, they sailed for Dannoura in Nagato. There the decisive battle was fought, and there, for the third time, the Taira were utterly routed. Nearly all their warriors were killed. When the issue of the battle had ceased to be doubtful, the Emperor Antoku, carrying with him the Sacred Sword and the Great Seal, plunged into the sea and was drowned. His mother, Kenreimon-in, the Taira chief Munemori, and the latter's son were taken prisoners; and Munemori and his son were subsequently executed. The Great Seal was afterwards recovered from the sea, but the Sacred Sword was irrevocably lost. Thenceforth the sword called *Hirunogoza-no-tsurugi* was employed for ceremonial and official purposes. The sword buried under the waves at Dannoura was not, however, the original Sacred Sword, but only a copy of the latter, forged during the reign of the Emperor Sujin. The original blade, as has been already stated, namely, the Kusanagi-no-tsurugi, was carefully kept in the Shrine at Atsuta, even as the Sacred Mirror was preserved in the Ise Shrine.

Thus, after some twenty years of power and prosperity, the Great Taira clan was broken and destroyed. Often in

subsequent centuries men talked of the meteor-like rise of the Taira, of the extraordinary heights of autocracy and affluence to which the illustrious family attained, and of the terrible and tragic scenes that marked its rapid and final fall.

## SECTION XII.

### *Agriculture.—Commerce.—Industry.*

We conclude this chapter with a brief reference to the productive condition of the country during the epoch covered by the events related above.

Agriculture being regarded as the chief source of national wealth, every possible encouragement was given to its development from the time when the capital was at Nara through succeeding eras. In the reign of the Emperor Temmu a law was enacted providing that a portion of the State tax might be remitted in the case of farmers of the middle and lower classes, to facilitate the accumulation of capital for agricultural enterprise. During the reigns of Jitō, Genshō, and Shōmu the cultivation of wet-fields, for rice-growing, was principally in vogue. In order, therefore, to encourage the growing of other food-stuffs, grants of uplands were made in addition to the regular allotments, and steps were taken to promote the raising of barley, wheat, Indian corn sesamum, together with such vegetables and fruits as turnips, peaches, chestnuts, oranges, mulberries, hemp, and so forth, The colonization of uninhabited districts was also encouraged, and people were allowed to take possession of land wherever they found it possible to settle. These various measures indicate a strong desire on the part of the Government to develop agricultural pursuits. Unfortunately, a considerable part of the land thus granted to enterprising

settlers, was subsequently absorbed into the great estates of the nobles.

Laws were further enacted providing that men who cultivated waste lands and obtained a good harvest, should be proportionately rewarded, and that monetary aid should be given to persons excavating reservoirs or trenches for purpose of drainage or irrigation. Regulations also existed binding farmers to store a certain quantity of millet each year, so as to avert the calamity of famine. When it was found that the condition of a province was prosperous, rewards were bestowed on the Governor, whereas punishments were meted out to the officials administering districts where agriculture was neglected. In a word, whereas farming methods were still more or less primitive, the Government's efforts to encourage agriculture were unremitting. Hence, although the condition of some districts was backward owing to the perfunctoriness or mismanagement of local officials, works of embankment, drainage, and irrigation progressed, on the whole, from year to year, and agricultural implements and methods gradually improved.

In the reign of the Emperor Kwammu, cotton was for the first time, grown for manufacturing purpose, but this industry did not long remain in favour. The planting of tea dates from the reign of Saga, and buckwheat as well as large and small beans were added to the agricultural list in the days of the Emperor Nimmyō. It was in the reign of the latter Emperor, also, that people conceived the idea of erecting in rice-fields a wooden frame on which to hang the sheaves during the process of drying; a device which, simple as it was, added materially to harvesting convenience. The procedure hitherto in vogue had been to strew

the rice-stalks on the ground in order to dry them, the consequence not infrequently being that inclement weather involved the loss of large quantities of grain. It is further worthy of special notice that Prince Yoshimine-no-Yasuyo, son of the Emperor Kwammu, invented the water-wheel, a contrivance of incalculable value in seasons of drought. There is also a record in the annals of the age that encouragement was given to fishing and cattle pasturing.

Commerce began to attain noticeable dimensions and to attract official attention from the time of the enactment and promulgation of the *Taihō* statutes. All matters relating to weights, measures, barter, and the regulation of market prices were supervised in the capital by the City Offices of the Left and Right and their junior branches, similar affairs in the provinces being superintended by local Governors, the whole under the control of the Finance Department. The markets opened at noon and closed at dusk, three strokes on the drum being the signal preparatory to closing. Places where articles were exposed publicly for sale went by the name of *Ichinokura*, and houses where goods were arranged on shelves for a similar purpose were called *Machi-ya*. In the markets, the sections where business was conducted by men were separated from those where females traded, and the prices of the various classes of articles were fixed by the Mayor. Manufacturers of swords, spears, saddles, and lacquer utensils were required to inscribe their names on their work, a provision evidently inspired by the aim of fostering and encouraging technical skill. In country districts the markets were held on fixed days, a fact permanently recorded in the names given to some of the market sites, as for example, the towns of Yokkaichi and Itsukaichi (fourth-day market and fifth-day

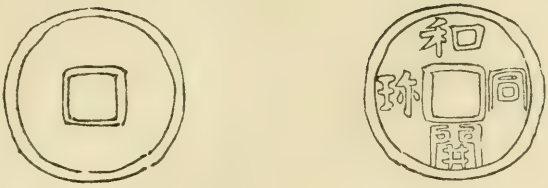
market). Trade with foreign nations occurred publicly only when Chinese vessels visited the shores of the country, and even then it was limited to transactions by officials or Court nobles, very few of the non-official classes being allowed to take part in such transactions. It would appear, nevertheless, that the restrictions imposed in this respect were not effective, for not a few instances are on record of punishments inflicted on persons who secretly crossed to China for purposes of trade in the times of the *Tang* and *Sung* Dynasties. The great Taira chief, Kiyomori, with a view to establishing trade between Japan and China—which empire being then under the sway of the *Sung* Dynasty, was spoken of in Japan as the "*Sō* country" (*Sō* is the Japanese pronunciation of *Sung*)—caused improvements to be effected in the port at Hyōgo, and took steps to promote intercourse with the people of the neighbouring empire, granting an interview at Fukuhara to travellers from China. But the domestic disturbances that supervened at that juncture compelled him to turn his attention to other matters.

In the early days when commerce was conducted on a system of barter, rice, grass cloth, cotten, and such things served the purposes of currency, though Chinese coins were occasionally employed. In and after the *Taikwa* era (645-649 A.D.), deposits of gold, silver, and other metals were found in various localities, and in the fifth year of the *Keiun* era (708 A.D.), during the reign of Gemmyō, the inhabitants of Musashi province presented to the Sovereign some pure copper, whereupon the year-name was changed to *Wadō* (pure copper), to commemorate so fortunate an event. Copper and silver coins were then cast, and were known as *Wadō Kaichin* (precious things of the *Wadō*

era). These were the first coins made in Japan. But the people of the time being entirely unfamiliar with the use of metallic media of exchange, the Government had to adopt various means of promoting the circulation of the new tokens. The Sovereign conferred rank on men who made accumulations of coin; travellers were urged to carry coins with them on their journeys; rice-growers were exhorted to sell their produce for coin; and the people were allowed to substitute payments of coin for the forced labour hitherto required of them, or for taxes in kind. Subsequently, coinage operations were undertaken from time to time, gold, silver, and copper pieces being struck, and as these gradually found their way into general use, it goes without saying that commercial convenience was greatly promoted.

No small impulse was given to material progress by the efforts of Buddhist priests, who encouraged the repairing of roads, the dredging of rivers, and other useful works. Their beneficent influence was conspicuously exercised in the early years of the Heian Epoch. The most prosperous towns at that time were Kaya, Ōtsu, Eguchi, Kanzaki, and Naniwa, in the vicinity of Kyōto, while in the provinces Hakata and Shikama were marts of note.

It has already been stated that industrial pursuits made marked progress during the century, while Nara was the seat of Government. There was established at that time in the Imperial Household Department an office called *Kyōtōshi* (bureau of Keramic utensils), to which was entrusted the duty of superintending works of pottery throughout the empire. In the Department of Finance the *Shitsubushi* (lacquer bereau) performed similar functions



The Coin called Wadōkaichin.

with regard to the manufacture of lacquer. Thenceforth, these two branches of industly made marked progress, commensurate with the general development of civilization. Notably in the early years of the Heian Epoch, when the standard of living was raised to a height of great luxury and refinement, gold lacquer, inlaying with mother-of-pearl, and dusting with gold with largely employed for interior decoration and in the manufacture of utensils and articles of daily use. Fujiwara-no-Yorimichi caused the ceiling of the Phœnix Hall *(Hō-ō-dō)* at Uji to be inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and Fujiwara-no-Hidehira, Governor-in-Chief of Mutsu, had the interior of the temple *Chūsonji* decorated with gold dust and mother-of-pearl. The glyptic art also improved rapidly with the spread of Buddhism. Great skill in this branch was developed during the reigns of Ichijō, Sanjō, and Goichijō, when there flourished two famous carvers of Buddhist images, namely, Kōshō, a descendant of the Emperor Kōkō, and his son Jōchō. The family of these celebrated artists inherited and applied their skill successfully through many generations. As for woven stuffs, rich brocade, sarcenet, pongee, and grass-cloth were abundantly manufactured in various parts of the empire. With regard to the art of forging swords, which at that epoch began to attract much attention, it will be referred to in a later chapter.

After the disturbances of the *Tengyō* era, when the administration of State affairs fell into disorder, signs of deterioration made themselves apparent in all branches of industry throughout the provinces, but Kyōto had become such a centre of prosperity and refinement that it remained more or less independent of these discouraging influences.

# PART II.

## Period during which the Administration was in the Hands of the Military Classes.

### CHAPTER IV.

### *The Kamakura Era.*

#### SECTION I.

#### *The Minamoto (Gen) Family.*

The circumstances connected with the rise of the Minamoto Family having been recounted in the preceding Chapter, it remains now to describe how the Taira's destruction was compassed by the Minamoto, and how the latter, in their turn, fell from their high estate.

When Yoshitsune, the younger brother of Yoritomo, had inflicted a final and crushing defeat on the Taira Clan at Dan-no-ura, he returned to Kyōto, and was appointed Minister of Justice by the ex-Emperor, who treated him with marked favour. Yoritomo, however, jealous of his great renown, and not without apprehension that the young warrior's fealty might yield to ambition, assumed an attitude of umbrage, so that Yoshitsune found himself administering State affairs without his elder brother's endorsement. The relations of the brothers were still farther embittered when Yoshitsune, escorting the Taira Chief, Munemori, to Kama-

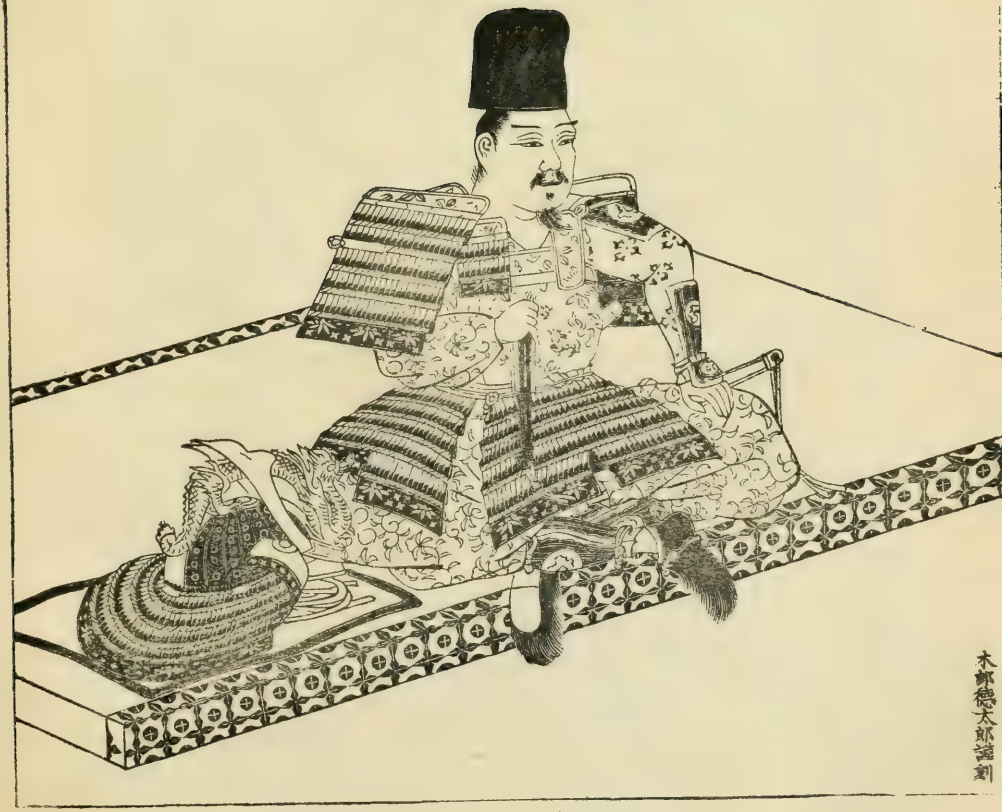
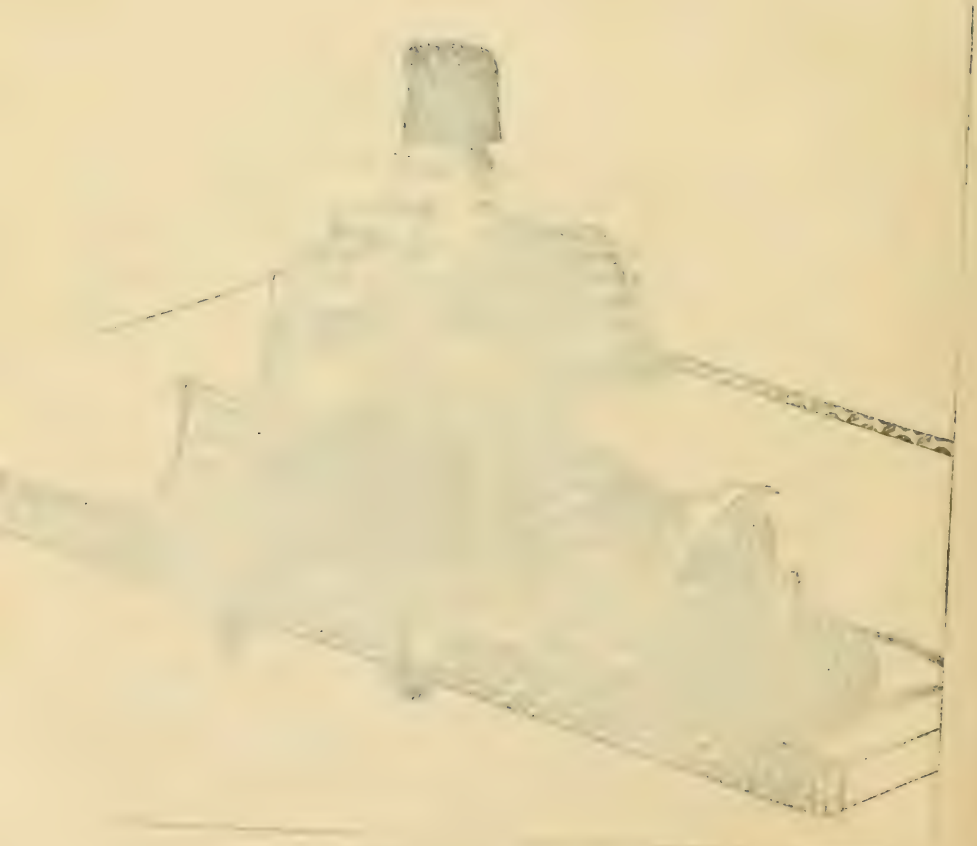


Image of Yoritomo.



kura, where Yoritomo had established his head-quarters, was refused admission, and had to return to Kyōto without receiving the recognition to which his noteworthy achievements entitled him. Shortly afterwards Yoritomo sent to Kyōto a man of proved valour and strength, Tosabō Shōshun, with orders to kill Yoshitsune, but Tosabō himself fell under Yoshitsune's sword in the attempt. Thereafter, Yukiiye, Yoshitsune's uncle—who had been originally despatched by the ex-Emperor with the mandate commissioning Yoritomo to take up arms—acting in concert with Yoshitsune, induced the ex-Emperor to authorize them to destroy Yoritomo. But when Yoritomo received intelligence of these things, he addressed himself with such persistence and ability to persuade the ex-Emperor of his innocence that he succeeded in obtaining the iussue of an Imperial mandate to all the provincial authorities ordering them to arrest Yoshitsune and Yukiiye. Yoritomo thereupon despatched Hōjō Tokimasa to Kyōto to quell the partisans of the prescribed nobles and restore order in the capital. Yukiiye was subsequently killed in the province of Idzumi, but Yoshitsune effected his escape to Mutsu, where he placed himself under the protection of the Governor-General, Fujiwara Hidehira, a relative of his family. Not long afterwards Hidehira died. Before his decease he entrusted Yoshitsune to the protection of his son Yasuhira. For a time Yasuhira observed this injunction, but finally received from Yoritomo explicit orders to kill the fugitive. So great and far-reaching was the authority of the Minamoto Chief at that time that Yasuhira had no choice but to comply with the mandate. He caused Yoshitsune to be put to death, and sent his head to Kamakura. Tradition maintains that Yoshitsune did not perish, but effected his escape to Ezo. No valid evidence is forth-

coming in support of such a theory. Probably it derived some fictitious weight from the representations of persons interested in convicting Yasuhira of negligence. Yoritomo himself lent a willing ear to such stories. They harmonized with a desire he had entertained for some time to bring Mutsu into subjection. Pretexting that Yasuhira had shown tardiness in compassing the death of Yoshitsune, the Minamoto chief led a powerful army against him in the year 1189 A.D. Within the space of some forty days after the setting out of his expedition from Kamakura, Yasuhira and all his family were destroyed; the provinces of Mutsu and Deba were completely over-run, and the whole of Japan came under the sway of the Kamakura Government.

In the opening year of the Kenkiu era (1190 A.D.), Yoritomo repaired to Kyōto and had his first audience of the Emperor and the ex-Emperor. The latter treated him with great consideration, and after the lapse of a year conferred upon him the title of *Seii-taishōgun*, or Generalissimo. On the occasion of receiving that high distinction, the Minamoto Chief again proceeded to Kyōto, and conducted a ceremonial in connection with the rebuilding of the temple *Tōdai-ji*, which had been burned down by Kiyomori. In the second year of the *Shōji* era (1200 A.D.), he died at the age of fifty-three, his eldest son, Yoriiye, succeeding to the title of Generalissimo. But Yoriiye being only eighteen years of age, and having given no evidence of ability, his mother, Masako, feared to entrust him with the administration of affairs. She therefore commissioned her own father Hōjō Tokimasa, together with Ōye Hiromoto, Hiki Yoshikazu, and ten others to assume the direction of the Government at Kamakura. Among these thirteen Ministers, Hōjō Tokimasa's relationship to Masako gave him the prëeminence.

In the year 1203 A.D., Yoriiye fell ill, and his mother, acting in concert with Tokimasa, planned to relieve him of his office of Generalissimo, and to appoint his son Ichiman to be lord and governor-general of the twenty-eight provinces forming Kwantō, and his younger brother Senman afterwards called Sanetomo—to be lord of the thirty-eight provinces forming Kwansai. But Yoriiye, having received information of the project, was greatly angered, and summoning his wife's father, Hiki Yoshikazu, took counsel with him to exterminate the Hōjō Family. Tokimasa frustrated the design by having Yoshikazu assassinated, and then attacking and slaying all his blood relations together with Ichiman. Yoriiye he afterwards shut up in the temple *Shuzen-ji*, where he ultimately caused him to be put to death. Sanetomo, Yoriiye's younger brother, succeeded him, but exercised no administrative authority, the Hōjō holding everything in their own grasp. Sanetomo consequently devoted himself to literature rather than to military exercises. Moreover, foreseeing that fortune would not long continue to smile upon the Minamoto Family, he thought to obtain a high position in the central Government, so as to add lustre to the Family's renown while there was yet time. Hence he was promoted to the post of Chief Councilor of State (*Dainagon*), in conjunction with that of Commander-in-Chief of the Guards of the Left, his official rank being raised to the First of the Second Class. Shortly afterwards, he became Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and then Minister of the Right. But in the first year of the Shōkiu era (1219), on the occasion of worshipping at the Shrine of Tsurugaoka Hachiman in Kamakura, to return thanks for his promotion, he was stabbed to death by Kugyō, a son of Yoriiye. This event put an end to the descendants of the Minamoto Family in the direct line. A

brief interval of thirty-five years, or three generations, from the time when Yoritomo had risen to the head of the Govenment, sufficed to terminate the supremacy of the great clan.

## SECTION II.

### *Organization of the Shōgun's Government (Bakufu).*

When, in the 8th month of the fourth year of Chijō (1186), Yoritomo marched southward against the Taira, and two months later beat back their great army from the Fuji River without bloodshed, he would have followed up his advantage and pushed on to Kyoto, had not his most trusted generals, Chiba Tsunetane, Miura Yoshizumi, and others, counselled him against doing so, on the ground that a number of strong enemies still held the north-eastern provinces, and that it would not be safe to move to the south leaving them unsubdued in his rear. Yoritomo admitted the wisdom of this advice, and applied himself, in the first place, to consolidate his power in Kwantō. The twenty-eight provinces of the latter were under his sway, and as Kamakura was best suited, topographically and strategically, to be his head-quarters, he chose it for his capital and caused a residence for himself to be built there. The captains and officials following his banner settled at the same place, and thus, in a brief interval, Kamakura, which had hitherto been a little-frequented fishing village became a prosperous and populous city. Thenceforth the people of the time called Yoritomo "Kamakura-dono" (the lord of Kamakura), though his official title was *Shōgun*, or Generalissimo. One of the first steps taken by the Minamoto Chief to consolidate his power was to establish the relation of lord and vassal between himself and the great local magnates

of the eastern provinces who had espoused his cause, and to secure their allegiance by confirming them in the possession of their estates. For the better organization of his military forces he created an office called *Samurai-dokoro*, a species of head-quarter staff department, which was presided over by Wada Yoshimori in the capacity of *Bettō*, a title originally given, as we have seen, to the Ministers of ex-Emperors. Thus all the military men throughout Kwantō were brought completely under his sway.

While these things were in progress, Minamoto-no-Yoshinaka was conducting his campaign in the south against the Taira. Having routed their forces, he entered Kyōto in triumph, and soon began to wield his newly acquired authority in such an arbitrary and arrogant manner that the ex-Emperor, Goshirakawa, despatched a mandate for his punishment to Yoritomo, which the latter obeyed, as has been described above, by despatching his younger brother Noriyori and Yoshitsune to drive Yoshinaka out of the capital. The two youthful generals, having successfully performed that commission, turned their arms against the Taira, and having gained a signal victory at Ichinotani, finally annihilated the great clan's power at the battle of Dan-no-ura. During the three years covered by the struggle between the Taira and the Minamoto, the three years commencing with Yoritomo's taking the field and ending with the battle of Dan-no-ura, the partizans of both sides made levies simultaneously on the provincials for means to carry on the war, and the agricultural classes were consequently reduced to a state of much embarrassment. Yoritomo, who was conspicuously solicitous for the material welfare and good government of the people, having established a Staff Depart-

ment, as already stated, caused the officers presiding over it to take efficient steps for the control of the military in the various localities. Further, after Yoshinaka's defeat and death, and after the remnants of the Taira clan had fled westward, the Shōgun summoned from Kyōto men skilled in the administration of affairs, as Ōye-no-Hiromoto, Nakahara Chikayoshi, Miyoshi Yasunobu, and so forth, and having created a Department of Public Archives *(Kumonjo)*, made Ōye-no-Hiromoto its Minister, and Nakahara Chikayoshi its Vice-Minister. By that Department the administration of civil affairs was chiefly conducted, as was the administration of military affairs by the Staff Department *(Samurai-dokoro)*. A Department of Justice *(Monchū-jo)* was also organized with Miyoshi Yasunobu at its head, its functions being the hearing of all civil suits, and the management of matters relating to civil law. These various appointments were made in the eighth month of the first year of the *Genryaku* era (1184).

The organization of the Shōgun's Government was thus completed. Thenceforward down to the days of the Ashikaga, the descendants of the three statesmen summoned from Kyoto to assist the Minamoto chief continued to direct the administration of affairs at Kamakura.

After the final rout of the Taira Clan, such of its partizans as survived scattered themselves throughout the provinces, constituting an element of disturbance, which was further accentuated by followers of Yoshitsune and Yukiiye, similarly fugitives. Owing to these causes, considerable disorder still existed throughout the empire. To correct this state of affairs, Yoritomo, acting on the

advice of Ōye-no-Hiromoto, made such strong representations to the ex-Emperor that His Majesty sanctioned the appointment of High Constables *(Shugo)* in the various provinces and Superintendents *(Jidō)* of the great estates, the whole being under the control of the Shōgun himself. By the energy of these officials numbers of the insurgents were arrested in different localities, and order was everywhere restored. Furthermore, an edict was issued requiring that all cultivators of land throughout the empire, without distinction of Kinai, Sanin, Sanyō, Nankai, Saikai, or other local divisions, and in the case of all kinds of land, whether hereditary estate *(Shōen)* or public allotment, should contribute to the military exchequer a tax at the rate of five *shō* (.256 bushels) of grain per *tan* (one-fourth of an acre). But in consideration of the harsh treatment that had been meted out to the Buddhist priests under the Taira administration, temple lands were exempted from this impost.

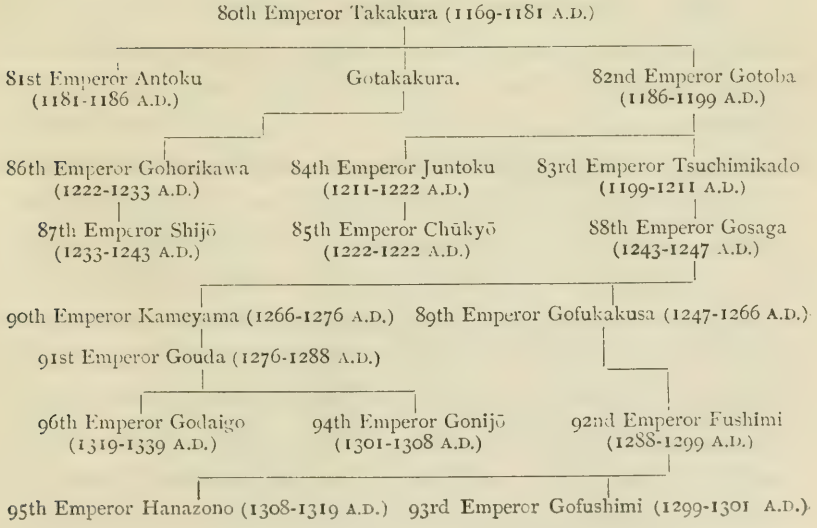
Thenceforth the power of the former provincial Governors and head-men gradually declined, and the authority of the newly appointed High Constables and Superintendents increased proportionally. The Shōgun, of course, took care that the occupants of the new officers should be chosen from among his own relatives and partizans, so that his sway was eventually consolidated everywhere, and the control of the empire virtually passed into his hands. He had already nominated Doi Sanehira and Kajiwara Kagetoki to be Governors-in-Chief of the Kinki region (the provinces in the vicinity of Kyōto), with authority to administer all agrarian affairs, and he now appointed Chiba Tsunetane and Shimokōbe Yukihira to be High Constables of Kyōto, with special instructions to put an end to the marauding practices of the time. Subsequently, Hiromoto and Chika-

yoshi were recalled from Kamakura and sent to Rokuhara, the former head-quarters of the Taira Chief, near Kyoto, there to preside over the conduct of civil affairs. As for the western provinces, whither the remnants of the Taira Clan had fled for refuge, Amano Tōkage was despatched thither to arrest the fugitives, and at the same time to deal with all matters relating to the territorial nobles and their vassals in those districts. At a later period, Mutō Sukeyori was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the Dazai-fu, an office that had long been charged with the administration of affairs in Kiushū, and Nakahara Chikayoshi succeeded Tōkage as Lord Constable of the West. The latter's adopted son afterwards became Governor *(Bugyo)* of the West, under the name of Ōtomo, and in conjunction with Mutō, Lord Lieutenant of the Dazai-fu, carried on the administration of Kiushū. Finally, in the north, where the great Fujiwara noble, Hidehira, holding the commission of Commander-in-Chief in the Ō-u Provinces, had given refuge and protection to Yoshitsune, it has been shown how his son was defeated and his district over-run by the forces of Yoritomo. The Shōgun placed Kasai Kiyoshige in the office of Governor of Ō-u, and shortly afterwards Izawa Iyekage having been appointed Constable of Mutsu, these two and their descendants, for several generations, continued to administer the district.

Yoritomo's administrative reforms were not limited to local affairs. He also effected changes in the organization of the Central Government. With the consent of the ex-Emperor, he appointed Fujiwara-Kanezane, to be Court Controller *(Nairan)*—in order to divide the absolute power of the Regent—and President of a deliberative Council of ten Kugyo, among whom the functions of administrative

direction were divided. Thenceforth, all the business of the Central Government was managed in the sequel of this Council's deliberations. Kanezane was a man of ripe experience, well versed in every detail of governmental functions. Thus, with Kenezane directing the Central Government, and Hiromoto conducting the affairs of the Shogunate, the stream of administration flowed smoothly in its channels alike in the east and in the west, and Yoritomo's policy was everywhere carried out undeviatingly.

TABLE SHOWING LINEAGE AND CHRONOLOGY OF SOVEREIGNS.




SECTION III.

## *The Shōkiū War.*

Yoritomo, having thus organized the Shogunate *(Baku-fu)* and placed the administration on a skilfully elaborated

footing, was able to control State affairs without moving from his capital, Kamakura. Meanwhile, the ex-Emperor Gotoba, who occupied the Throne between the years 1186 and 1199 A.D., when the Minamoto Chief was extending and consolidating his authority, had from the time of his accession cherished the hope of recovering the control of administrative affairs, and with that object had stationed military men of his own choosing in the West, in addition to those already stationed in the North, conferring on their leaders swords forged by his own hands, and otherwise sparing no pains to organize a strong military following. So long, however, as Yoritomo lived and governed, this project of Gotoba—now occupying the position of ex-Emperor—could not possibly be realized. But when Sanetomo, the third Shogun of Yoritomo's line, fell under the sword of Kugyo, and the sun of the Minamoto Family was effectually eclipsed, the ex-Emperor thought that he descried an opportunity to attain his purpose. The post of Shōgun, after Sanetomo's death, was held by a relative of Yoritomo, one of the Fujiwara Family, who owed his elevation to Yoshitoki, the son of Hōjō Tokimasa. Yoshitoki's motives in this business were selfish, and after obtaining the Shogunate for his *protégé* he himself exercised the administrative authority in a markedly arrogant and arbitrary manner. The ex-Emperor's original purpose was strengthened by the umbrage which these doings inspired. He selected a son of Nishina Moritoo, a Kamakura vassal, and appointed him Warden of the Western marches. Moritoo, highly flattered by such a distinction, took up his residence in Kyoto. But Yoshitoki was indignant at the notion that a vassal of Kamakura should accept office under the Central Government without permission. He punished Moritoo by confiscating all the lands that belonged to him. Thereupon an Imperial mandate

was issued, directing that the Nishina estates should be restored. But Yoshitoki paid no attention to the order. A further instance of contumacious indifference to the Imperial instructions occurred in connection with an estate which the ex-Emperor had conferred on one of his favourte mistresses. The Headman of the estate having betrayed discontent at the measure, Yoshitoki was ordered to punish him and deprive him of his office. But again the order was disregarded. Stung by these insults, the ex-Emperor finally resolved to overthrow the Kamakura Government. He was strongly supported in this design by Juntoku, who had just abdicated in favour of his son, Chūkyo. There were then three ex-Emperors: Gotoba, Tsuchimikado, and Juntoku. Of these the second opposed the project of the other two, urging that its execution was still premature. But they would not be guided by his counsels. Residing in Kyoto at that time was a certain Miura Taneyoshi, a Kamakura vassal, whose elder brother, Yoshimura, possessed great estates in the west. Taneyoshi had been sent from Kamakura to the capital on guard duty, but having conceived bitter enmity on his wife's account against the Kamakura potentate, Yoshitoki, he declined to return at the expiration of his term of service, and continued to live in the capital. The ex-Emperor Gotoba took skilful advantage of this disaffection. He prompted Fujiwara-Hideyasu, Warden of the Northern marches, to invite Taneyoshi to his district, and seek to enrol him among the number of those affiliated for the overthrow of the Kamakura Government. Taneyoshi readily consented, and further contrived to open with his elder brother, Yoshimura, in Kamakura, correspondence which won the latter's allegiance to the same cause. The ex-Emperor, encouraged by these events, resolved to raise the standard at once in the Kinki pro-

vinces. Seventeen hundred warriors assembled to support him. The nobles whose function was to guard the Sovereign in Kyoto—the *Ōban-no-Daimyo*, as they were called—for example, Kōno, Kikuchi, Kawabe, and so forth, obeyed the Imperial summons to arms, but the High Constable of Kyōto, Iga Mitsuzuye, refusing to give his allegiance, was put to death by Hideyasu, Taneyoshi, and others, acting under commission from the ex-Emperor.

In the fifth month of the third year of the *Shōkiu* era (1221 A.D.) an Imperial mandate was circulated through all the provinces of the empire ordering the destruction of the Hōjō Family. It was specially addressed to Miura Yoshimura. But, instead of obeying, he conveyed secret information of the fact to Yoshitoki, who in turn informed Masako, the widow of Yoritomo. She thereupon summoned all the military leaders of the surrounding provinces, and having reminded them of the possessions and ranks bestowed by the Minamoto chief on the *Samurai* of Kwantō, said that an occasion had now arisen to repay her deceased husband's favours. The result was that none of these captains espoused the Sovereign's cause in the struggle that ensued. Meanwhile, Yoshitoki took counsel of his generals as to a plan of campaign, and finally adopted the proposal of Ōye Hiromoto that the bulk of the forces at the disposal of the Hōjō should march against Kyoto, under the command of Hōjō Yasutoki and Hōjō Tokifusa, by the three trunk routes, the Tōkaidō, the Tōsandō, and the Hokurikudō. On receipt of this intelligence in Kyōto, the Imperial troops were divided into two bodies under Hideyasu and Taneyoshi, and moved northward to meet the invaders in Owari and Mino provinces. But the defending forces suffered several defeats, and were

finally driven back, so that Yasutoki and Tokifusa were able to enter Kyoto at the head of a large army. They forced the reigning Sovereign to abdicate in favour of Gohorikawa, and they banished the three ex-Emperors, Gotoba to Oki Island, Juntoku to Sado Island, and Tsuchimikado to the province of Tosa. Gotaba's son was also sent into exile. A number of Court nobles who had assisted and promoted the attack upon the Kamakura Government, were put to death. Three thousand estates belonging to these nobles and to *Samurai* who had espoused the Imperial cause, were confiscated and divided among the Hōjō followers. Yoshitoki then stationed Yasutoki and Tokifusa at Rokuhara to preserve the peace in Kyōto. Even in the days of Yoritomo, affairs of State had been administered by Nakahara Chikayoshi and Ōye Hiromoto in consultation with the Court nobles and the Fujiwara Ministers, but the Hōjō recognised no such cöoperative obligation. Yasutoki took up a position on the north of Rokuhara, and Tokifusa on the south, from whence they carried on the Government independently of the Court officials. This dual administration by the Hōjō chiefs received from the people the name of "Ryo Rokuhara," or the two Rokuhara. The reins of Government at this epoch were held absolutely by the Hōjō.

## SECTION IV.

### *The Hōjō Family.*

The Hōjō Family was of Taira origin, its founder being Taira-no-Sadamori. The name "Hōjō" was derived from the fact that the family's head-quarters were at Hōjō in Izu. During the period of Yoritomo's exile in Izu, he experienced

generous and hospitable treatment from Hōjō Tokimasa, whose daughter he married. When the mandate for the destruction of the Taira Family was issued by Prince Mochihito, Tokimasa, although related to that family, assisted Yoritomo to carry out the order, and after the death of the Minamoto Chief and the succession of his son, Yoriiye, to the Shogunate, Tokimasa enjoyed the widest popularity and wielded the greatest power of all the military nobles of the time. His relationship to Yoriiye afforded additional opportunity for the exercise of the Hōjō authority, and he virtually decided all matters relating to the administration of the Shogunate. Yoriiye, as has been recorded, was put to death by Tokimasa's orders, and the new Shōgun, Sanetomo, enjoyed even less power than his predecessor, the Hōjō being omnipotent. But Tokimasa allowed himself to be controlled by the counsels of his wife. At her slanderous instance he brought about the overthrow of a great territorial noble, Hatakeyama, and by her advice he conceived the project of elevating to the Shogunate his daughter's husband, Hiraga Tomomasa. Sanetomo, then a mere youth, was an inmate of Tokimasa's house at the time of this plot. His mother, Masako, learning what was on foot, caused him to be removed to the house of Yoshitoki, with the assistance of the military vassals of the Minamoto, and succeeded not only in having Tokimasa and his intriguing wife sent back to Hōjō, but also in compassing the death of Tomomasa in Kyōto. These events transferred the territorial and military ascendancy among the Kamakura nobility to Yoshitoki, the Hōjō chief in Kamakura. Moreover, in hopes of obtaining supremacy of the Kamakura Government, Yoshitoki prompted Kugyo to assassinate Sanetomo, the last of the Minamoto Family, the result of the deed being that Fujiwara Yoritsune was

summoned from Kyōto to assume the office of Shogun, Masako, the widow of Yoritomo exercising the controlling power and Yoshitoki holding the office of Regent (*Shikken*, an office virtually corresponding with the *Sesshō* of the Central Government), in which capacity he administered all the affairs of the Bakufu in the name of the young Shōgun. The Emperor Gotoba, indignant at the arbitrary conduct of Yoshitoki, attempted to bring about the restoration of the Throne's administrative authority, but in vain. His failure served only to strengthen the supremacy of the Shogunate, and in the sequel of the contest precipitated by this attempt, Yoshitoki, as described in the preceding Section, stationed members of his family at the two Rokuhara, and moreover organized the Kamakura Administration in such a manner that the office of Regent should become hereditary in his own family, and that the offices of Assistant Regent—a post then created—should fall to the most influential members of the Hōjō. He further created at Kamakura an Administrative Council (*Hyōjōshū*) and a Secretariat (*Hikitsukeshū*), corresponding offices being established at Rokuhara also.

Yasutoki succeeded to the post of Northern Regent (we use the term "Northern" to distinguish the Kamakura *Shikken* from the Kyōto *Sessho*) after the death of his father Yoshitoki. He devoted himself zealously to political affairs, treated the agricultural classes with much consideration, and sought earnestly to win the love of the people. He treated his relatives with uniform kindness, and those under his sway with condescension, never abandoning himself to passionate impulses nor ever employing his power wantonly. He framed a law of fifty-one articles setting

forth the principles of administration and supplying regulations to guide the discharge of official functions. Ruling wisely and living uprightly, he died lamented by people of all classes.

Yasutoki's son, Tokiuji, having died before him, he was succeeded by his grandson, Tsunetoki, the latter's successor being his younger brother, Tokiyori. This last, like his grandfather, practised economy in his administration and showed much consideration for the agricultural classes. His son, Tokimune, who followed him in the office of Regent at Kamakura, was a man of conspicuous courage and resolution. His exercise of power was distinguished by the signal defeat of a Chinese invasion. At this epoch a struggle for the succession to the Throne occurred between Gofukakusa and Kameyama, which event was taken advantage of by the Hōjō to bring about an arrangement to the effect that the descendants of the rival Sovereigns should reign for ten years alternately. In this way the dependence of the Imperial House upon the Kamakura rulers became more marked than ever. As for Fujiwara Family, all possibility of its developing inconvenient puissance was obviated by an adroit arrangement, namely, the division of the Family into five branches, each entitled to hold the office of *Kwambaku*, the five thus becoming naturally a check upon each other.

Tokimune was succeeded by his son Sadatoki. But owing to the youth of the new Minister, and to disputes among the leading officials at Kamakura, Adachi Yasumori and his son contending with the *Naikwanryo*, Nagasaki Yoritsuna, for administrative power, the government of the Hōjō fell into some disorder.

Sadatoki's son, Takatoki, came to the head of the Kamakura Administration after his father, but being a man of indolent disposition, he entrusted the control of affairs wholly to the *Naikwanryō* Nagasaki Takasuke, and the latter was betrayed by avarice into such abuses of power that men's hearts were altogether estranged from the Government, and the fall of the Hōjō finally ensued, a hundred and fifty years after the first of those powerful rulers had risen from the position of a rear-vassal to the most puissant office in the Administration.

## SECTION V.

### *Legislation of the Shogunate.*

Minamoto Yoritomo, having chosen Kamakura as his seat of government, despatched military and civil officials of his own selection and from among his own partizans to administer local affairs throughout the empire, thus organizing the *Buke-seiji*, or military feudalism. He affected legislative simplicity, and to that end classified capital crimes into three great divisions, namely, contumely towards the Sovereign, rebellion, and murder. Persons committing any of these crimes were dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the law. His reforms, however, did not extend to unification of the laws for all sections of the nation. The Central Government continued to rule according to the statutes of the early Heian Epoch, while the administration of the Shogunate was based on the system of feudal aristocracy. But after the Shōkiu disturbance the power of the Imperial Court suffered palpable diminution while that of the Shogunate increased proportionately. Circumstances were therefore favourable for further measures of admini-

strative reform, and Hōjō Yasutoki made wise use of the occasion. Carefully collating the administrative systems of the Central Government and of the Shogunate, he compiled a code of fifty-one laws, in strict accordance with which all officials holding office under the Shogunate were required to decide civil suits. Matters relating to the interests of the people in general were not altogether excluded from this code, but its principal aim was to provide for the settlement of questions between vassals of the Kamakura Regents. It was not definitely intended or explicity provided that subjects under the direct control of the Central Government should be brought within the purview of the Kamakura statutes, or that the codes and regulations of the former Government should be replaced by those of the latter. Nevertheless, such extension of the scope of the Shogunate laws and such restriction of the operation of the Central Government's, did naturally follow as a consequence of the decay of the Imperial authority and the development of feudal sway, so that finally the legislative enactments of the Kamakura Administration came to be enforced throughout the whole empire.

The fifty-one laws referred to above, set out by inculcating the duty of reverencing the Shinto and Buddhist deities. They then went on to prescribe that Lord Constables and territorial nobles must not exceed the limits of their legitimate authority, and that the promotion and retirement of the greater and lesser territorial nobles must not be subject to interference by the Kamakura Administration. These general provisions were followed by rules relating to land, to succession, to property, to civil suits, to marriage, to rebellion, to murder, and to lesser crimes. Translated into the terminology of the present times, these laws may be

called a combination of a Constitution, a Criminal Code, a Civil Code, and a Code of Civil Procedure. They were not promulgated, however. Placed only in the hands of those concerned in their administration, they were not brought to the knowledge of the nation at large. The same is true of the hundred laws enacted by the Tokugawa Shogunate in later ages.

## SECTION VI.

### *The Chinese Invasion.*

Turning our attention to the foreign relations of the empire, we find that from the *Antei* era (1227-28 A.D.) onwards, freebooters, from the Island of Tsushima made raids into Koma in Korea, and plundered the inhabitants of the peninsula. These lawless proceedings proved more or less determinental to the growth of commerce. But, at the same epoch, tradal intercourse with China received a considerable impetus from the going and coming of priests of the Zen Sect of Buddhism, though inter-governmental relations had not existed since the close of the ninth century when, as related in a previous chapter, the wonted embassy from Japan to the neighbouring empire had been abandoned by the advice of Sugawara-no-Michizane. Several overtures for the re-establishment of official relations were made by the *Sung* emperors, but Japan did not lend a ready ear. Subsequently China became the scene of continuous disturbances. The power of the *Sung* dynasty gradually declined. In Mongolia, on the north east of China, there appeared a conqueror of world-wide fame, Temujin (called by the Japanese "Tetsubokushin"), the great Genghis Kahn. Against his armies the Tartar Kings were unable to hold

their ground, and ultimately the wave of Mongol conquest flowed into the dominions of the *Sung* Sovereign in the south of China. Temujin's grandson, Kublai, possessed himself of a great part of Korea, and having concerted measures for overthrowing the *Sung* Dynasty and bringing all China under Mongol rule. he conceived the project of subjugating Japan also. His first step towards consummating that design was to send envoys *viâ* Korea, who were instructed to remonstrate with the Japanese Sovereign for his indifferent attitude towards the Mongol autocrat. But the Koreans dissuaded these envoys from prosecuting their voyage. Two years later, in the fifth year of the *Bunyei* era (1268 A.D.) Kameyama being on the Throne of Japan, Kublai despatched another embassy to Dazaifu in Kiushū. This embassy carried letters to the Governor of Dazaifu as well as to the Emperor of Japan, the ostensible object of the communications being to establish amicable relations between the two countries. From Dazaifu intelligence of the embassy's coming and of the nature of its documents was forwarded to Kamakura, thence to be sent in turn to the Court in Kyōto. Considerable anxiety was caused by the news, both in official and in civilian circles. In the fourth month of the same year, the Emperor Kameyama laid before the Shrine of Daijingū an autographic supplication for the heavenly protection of the empire, and caused prayers of a similar purport to be said at all the shrines and temples throughout the realm. Careful measures were also taken to guard the coasts, more particularly the points of strategical importance in Hizen and Chikuzen. A draft reply to Kublai's despatch was prepared at the Court in Kyōto, and shown to Hōjō Tokimune, who, however, gave it as his opinion that inasmuch as the communication from China lacked the forms of prescribed courtesy, Japan's

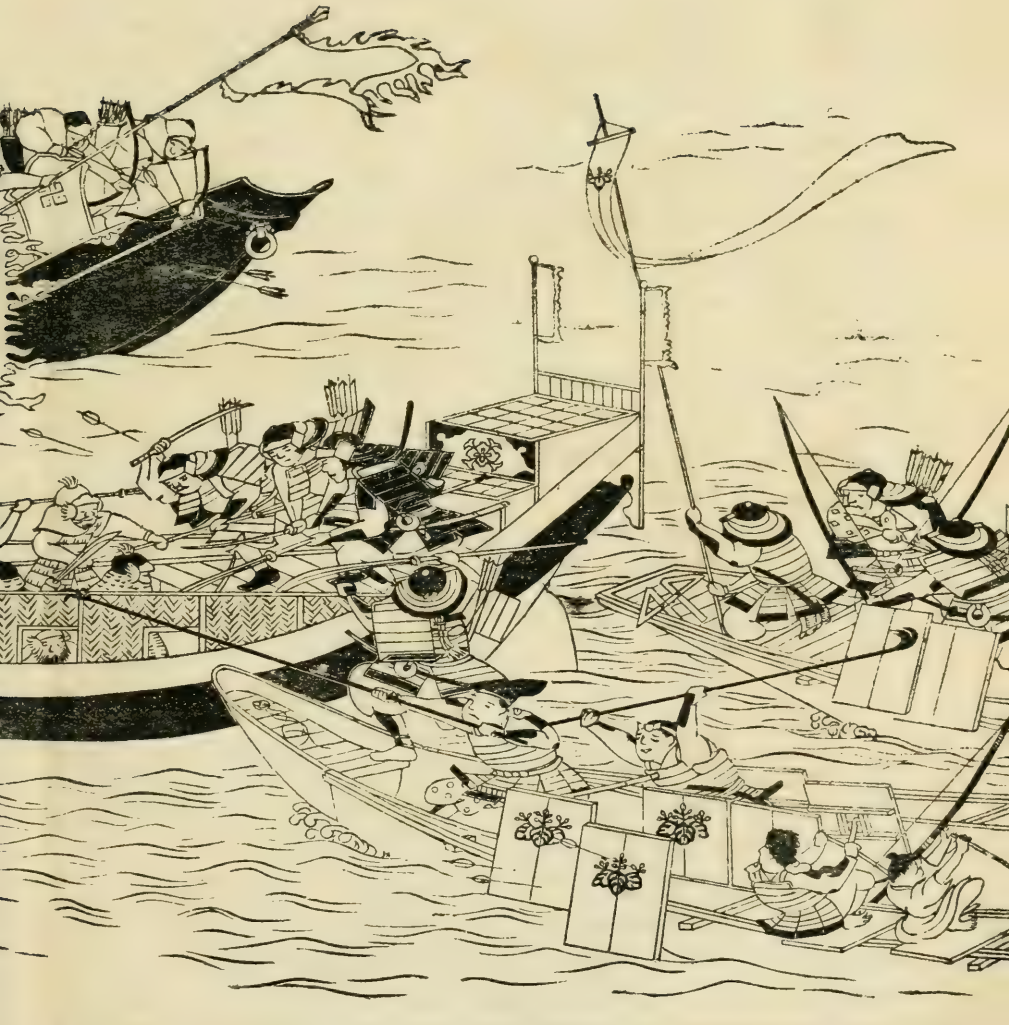
dignity precluded the sending of any answer. Orders were therefore conveyed to Dazaifu for the immediate expulsion of the Chinese envoys. In March of the following year, Korean officials again arrived in the island of Tsushima escorting Mongolian envoys, who asked for a reply to the despatch sent by their Sovereign the preceding year. These envoys became involved in quarrels with the people of Tsushima, and finally took their departure, carrying away two of the latter as prisoners. In the eighth month of the same year, Kublai caused these two men to be restored to Japan, and made the act an occasion for addressing another despatch to the Japanese Emperor. Again Japan refrained from making reply. Two years now passed without any further step on the part of the great Khan. But in the eighth month of the eighth year of *Bunyei* (1271 A.D.), he sent another ambassador, Chiu Liungpat, with a train of a hundred followers. This embassy, accompanied as usual by Korean officials, landed at Imatsu in Chikuzen. The ambassador's instructions were to present the despatch of which he was bearer either to the Imperial Court or to the Shōgun in Kamakura. He did not, however, entrust the original document to the Dazaifu officials, but gave them a copy only. This was at once forwarded to Kamakura, being from thence communicated to the Court in Kyōto. On receiving it, the *Kwambaku* took counsel of the other Ministers of the Crown and came to the decision that no reply should be given. By this time the people of Japan had acquired full knowledge of the immense power wielded by Kublai Khan, and of the vast conquests achieved by him in succession to his grandfather Genghis. Hence there was no little anxiety as to the outcome of these futile embassies. In December, information of the Emperor's resolve to give no answer was conveyed

to the Dazaifu officials, His Majesty at the same time causing prayers to be offered up as before at the shrines and temples throughout the empire. Kublai Khan had now brought almost the whole of China into subjection and established his dynasty there under the title of *Yuan*. He continued to send embassy after embassy to Japan, and Japan, on her side continued, with equal persistence, to make no reply to messages which she construed as national insults. Enraged by this indifference, Kublai Khan finally sent against Japan a fleet of a hundred and fifty war-vessels under the command of Liu Fok-hêng, at the same time ordering Korea to reinforce this expedition. In the eleventh month of the eleventh year of *Bunyei* (1274 A.D.), Gouda being on the Japanese Throne, the invaders arrived at Tsushima, where they killed the Governor. Thence they passed to the island of Iki, where they killed the acting High Constable, and thereafter directed their forces against Imatsu in Chikuzen. The military nobles of Kiushū—Shōni, Ōtomo, Matsura, Kikuchi, and others—collected troops and made a stand at Hakozaki. The Yuan invaders, armed with guns, caused great havoc among the Japanese army, but the Chinese leader, Liu, received a wound that compelled him to retire, and a heavy gale arising destroyed numbers of the foreign war-vessels. The Korean general's ship was cast away and he himself drowned. Finally, the remnant of the invading force escaped under cover of darkness. Once again, in the fourth month of the following year (1275 A.D.), the Yuan Sovereign sent another envoy, named To Sechung, who landed at Murotsu in Nagato, and in the eighth month of the same year this ambassador was sent up to Kamakura, where he was put to death by Hōjō Tokimune. Hōjō Sanemasa was now appointed to the chief command at Dazaifu, and instructions were issued for





The Invasio



by the Mongol Tartars.



the vigilant guarding of all the coast line in the south. Further, the Imperial Guards were temporarily withdrawn from Kyōto, and drafted into a large army recruited from the east of the empire and stationed at Dazaifu as well as at other important positions along the coast. Hōjō Sanemasa was given the command of this army, and other members of the Hōjō Family were despatched to direct and superintend the military preparations in Harima and Nagato. Further, the territorial nobles of Kiushū received orders to construct fortresses along the coast, and this work being vigorously carried on, was completed in 1279 A.D. That year the Chinese Emperor again sent envoys, Cheu Fuh and Lwan Chung, seeking to establish friendship and intercourse. They landed at Hakata, but were put to death by order of the Shōgun's Government. In the tenth month of the same year, Hōjō Tokimune, foreseeing the consequences of these complications, despatched large bodies of troops from Kamakura to Kiushū, to repel the renewed attack inevitably pending from the west. Kublai Khan had now completed his conquest of China, and, having attained the zenith of his power, resolved to gratify his long cherished desire, supplemented as it was by indignation at the repeated slaughter of his ambassadors in Japan.

In the fifth month of the fourth year of the *Kōan* era (1281 A.D.), the Emperor Kublai Khan assembled a force of 100,000 soldiers, and these, together with a contingent of 10,000 Koreans, were sent against Japan under the command of Hwan Bunko. The invading army touched at the island of Iki, and after a cruel massacre of its inhabitants, resumed their voyage towards Dazaifu. Thither the Japanese troops flocked from Kiushū, Chūgoku, and Shikoku to defend their country. Aided by the fortresses that had

been erected along the coast, they fought stoutly. The Chinese, however, enjoyed the great advantage of possessing heavy ordnance, with which they bombarded the forts and slaughtered such multitudes of the Japanese soldiers that the latter were unable to meet them in open contest. Nevertheless, the defenders continued to resist obstinately, so that, although the contest waged for sixty days, the enemy could not effect a landing. Meanwhile, a rumour reached Kyōto that the Yuan invaders, having borne down all resistance in Kiushū, had pushed on to Nagato, and were on the point of advancing against Kyōto itself, thence to carry their arms into the Tōkaidō and Hokurikudō. The Emperor, deeply disquieted by these tidings, proceeded in person to the shrine of Iwashimizu Hachimangū to pray for the safety of the country, and moreover despatched an autographic supplication to the shrine of Daijingū in Ise, vowing that he would offer himself as a sacrifice to preserve the honour of his empire. But in Kiushū the contest continued fiercely when, on the 30th of the 7th month, a northwesterly storm swept down on the Chinese fleet and wrecked a number of the ships with immense loss of life. Those that survived the tempest, several thousands in number, took refuge in the island of Takashima off the coast of Hizen, and there, under the command of Chang Pak—Hwan Bunko having fled away in a vessel of exceptional strength —set themselves to cut timber and build new ships carry them back to China. But Shōni Kagesuke, at the head of a body of the Kiushū troops, followed and attacked the fugitives, killing several hundreds and taking over a thousand prisoners, so that, in the end, only three out of the hundred thousand Yuan invaders succeeded in escaping alive to China. After this success the Kamakura Government redoubled its efforts to place the defences of the

country on a strong footing. As for the Chinese Emperor, he would fain have sent another army against Japan, but the effort seems to have been beyond his power.

It is worthy of notice that during this national crisis great sums of money were devoted to maintaining constant religious services at the shrines and temples throughout the empire. The expense incurred on that account is said to have been greater even than the outlay in connection with military affairs. Moreover, after the invaders had been defeated and the danger averted, the rewards granted to Buddhist priests and Shinto officials far exceeded in monetary value the recompense given to the troops and their leaders. The priests of the Buddhist temples Enryaku-ji, Onjō-ji, and Kōfuku-ji, as well as of the Shinto Shrines of Gion, Iwashimizu, and so forth, took arrogant advantage of the occasion to press the Government for still heavier payments, but as great sums were being expended on account of the services at other temples, it was impossible to satisfy such demands. On the other hand, the Wardens and territorial nobles, also, on whom the duty of defending the country had fallen, found the drain on their resources so heavy that they began to murmur. Thus the popularity of the Shogunate at Kamakura commenced to wane.

## SECTION VII.

### *Customs.*

From the early years of the Heian Epoch, the customs of the nation were of two distinct kinds, those prevailing in Kyōto among the Court nobles *(Kuge)* and those of the military classes at Kamakura. When the soldier element

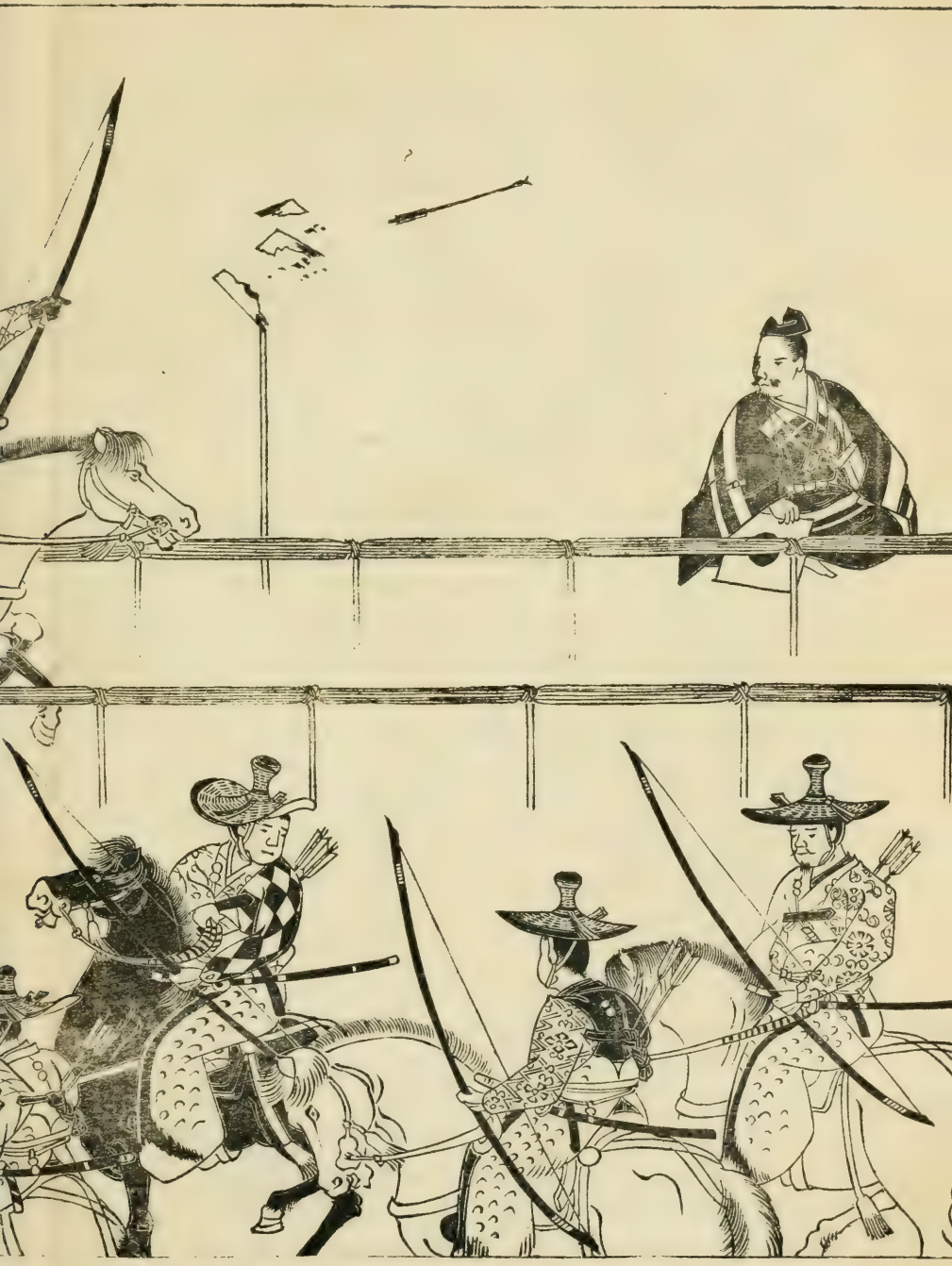
was in the ascendant, its manners and customs were more or less taken as a model in Kyōto, while, on the other hand, Kyōto sometimes impressed its own fashions on the military. An instance of the latter case is furnished by the story of the Taira Family, whose fighting men gradually fell under the influence of the Kyōto Court's example, and losing their hardy habits, succumbed with comparative ease to the misfortunes that afterwards overtook them Minamoto Yoritomo, however, on attaining the rank of *Shōgun*, fixed his head-quarters at Kamakura and did not visit Kyōto except for very brief intervals. His habits of life were frugal and simple; he encouraged the *Samurai* to adopt a severe military regimen, and he set his face resolutely against costly ostentation and enervating excesses. But in the time of Sanetomo continued peace produced its usual effects: the austerity of military customs underwent relaxation even at Kamakura, and refinement and luxury began to come into vogue. So, too, in Kyōto, when the city passed under military rule after the Shōkiu troubles and when the power of the Court nobles declined correspondingly, the customs of the soldier class prevailed over those of the *Kuge*. Speaking generally, however, it may be said that Kamakura was the nursery of military customs and Kyōto the centre of courtly effeminacy.

The *Kuge* customs entered upon a stage of high development in Kyōto during the Heian era. Their principal features were love of elegance and rich display, devotion to literary pursuits, and contempt for military exercises. These customs obtained additional vogue in Kyōto after the decline of the Emperor's administrative power. The military ethics at Kamakura, on the other hand, prescribed frugality and simplicity, inculcated love of soldierly





Yabusame



ooting on horseback).



pursuits and encouraged feelings of gratitude and devoted loyalty in the relations between lord and vassal. To such a pitch were these latter sentiments carried that a vassal would choose rather to be estranged from his parents or find himself opposed to his own brothers and sisters, than to show want of fealty to his lord. Everything, in short, must be sacrificed in the cause of one's lord death and life alike being shared with him. The rules of etiquette were strictly obeyed, and the provisions of the code of honour carefully observed. Even when a *samurai* went into battle, he did not set himself to slaughter indiscriminately, but having first recounted the achievements of his ancestors, crossed swords with his foe in a leisurely and dignified manner. Were he guilty of any fault, it was expected of him to die by his own hand before the disgrace of lawful punishment could overtake him. The obligations of honour were absolutely binding on him in all conjunctures.

The costume of the military classes during the Kamakura Epoch was not elaborate. They generally wore a kind of cap, called Eboshi, and a long loose surcoat (the *Hitatare*), on which the crest of the wearer's family was woven or embroidered. The robe under the *Hitatare* was confined by a broad silk girdle into which were thrust two swords of different lengths.

In the matter of amusements, those most affected were a dance, the *shirabyōshi*, performed by females apparelled in flowing garments—the beauty of the performance consisting in the slow grace of its measured movements —and a species of theatrical entertainment called *dengaku*. Another kind of theatrical performance called *sarugaku*, which had its origin in the days of the Emperor

Gosaga, was also favoured. In addition to these pastimes, there were the *Inu-oi* (an equestrian exercise which took place within a fenced arena, the riders pursuing, and shooting with padded arrows at, a dog); *Yabusame* (shooting from horseback with bow and arrow at a target); hawking, wrestling, hunting, and other active forms of amusement.

## SECTION VIII.

### *Literature.*

After the *Hōgen* and *Heiji* insurrections even the capital itself, the seat of refinement and splendour, became like a deserted battle-field, and when Minamoto Yoritomo made Kamakura the head-quarters of his military government, the science of war absorbed men's attention so completely that little or no heed was paid to literary pursuits. With the restoration of peace, however, literature did not fail to re-enter the path of progress.

The Kyōto University and the provincial schools which were the fountain-heads and props of the nation's education, entered upon a period of decline after the Heian Epoch. With the exception of the founding of the *Kanazawa Bunko* by Hōjō Akitoki, in the fifth year of the *Shōwa* era—a library in which Chinese and Japanese books were collected for the convenience af students—there is recorded no evidence of official effort to encourage literary pursuits. The study of Chinese literature passed greatly out of fashion in the era succeeding the reign of Daigo, so that, during the period of the Hōjō's supremacy, there were few military men or civilians competent to compose in Chinese style.

In priestly circles, however, men were still found who devoted themselves to literature. This was especially the case with priests of the Zen sect. Some of these went to China to study the Classics of that country and were well versed in prose and poetical literature. It naturally fell out that the learned and clerkly priests were elevated by the comparatively rude military classes into the position of advisers, and that they monopolised all functions connected with books or documents. Every one desirous of obtaining education had no recourse but to place himself under the tuition of the priests. It was owing to these facts that the term *Tera-koya* (temple annex) came to be generally employed to designate a private school. But despite the people's neglect of Chinese studies, Chinese words and expressions were largely in vogue among the better classes, and Buddhist terms also passed appreciably into the language of the time owing to the prosperous and influential position occupied by that religion. The written language being thus enriched by a multitude of phrases and expressions which had received the endorsement of scholars, the vocabulary and literature of the era exhibit marked evidences of change.

If we consider the tendency of that era and the trend of popular feeling, we find a very distinct difference as compared with the Heian Epoch; a difference which naturally manifested itself in the kind of literature affected. Men no longer took pleasure in books treating of the lives and adventures of beautiful women or the mental feats of renowned scholars. Such studies seemed incongruous amid the clash of arms and under the shadow of the sword and spear. Striking vicissitudes in martial careers, the intrepid deaths or life-long separations of warriors, the rise and fall

of kingdoms—these were the themes of which the Kamakura *Samurai* loved to read.

Thus, among the prose compositions of the time, the most noted were the *Hōgen Monogatari*, the *Heiji Monogatari*, the *Heike Monogatari*, the *Genpei Seisuiki*, all of which treated of the epoch-making struggles of the great military clans. Other famous productions of the period were the *Hōjō-ki*, and the *Shiki Monogatari*. In these works we find a skilful blending of graceful Japanese phrases, strong Chinese expressions, and lofty Buddhist terms. At times the style has all the ring of martial onset; at times it is plaintive and moving; at times it abounds in graces of diction, and at times its transitions from passion to deliberation, from swift terseness to smooth tranquillity, are full of force and sentiment. Between the emotional effect of such writings and the gently flowing phraseology and uneventful paragraphs of works like the *Genji Monogatari*, there is a wide interval. Running through the pages of the *Hōjō-ki* the reader detects a current of discontent and disgust for the world and its business that reflects the growing tendency of educated minds at that epoch.

Japanese poetry flourished uniformly in Kyōto, unaffected by the vicissitudes of the times or the decline of the Imperial power. Collections of verses were made from time to time and published by Imperial direction. Among such collections, special reference must be made to the *Shin-Kokinshū*, which contains stanzas constructed with remarkable skill, the phraseology subtle and elegant, the rythm easy and graceful, the style refined and the ideas profound. This book stands at the head of all collections

of poems published under Imperial auspices. It presents features which remained a model for the poets of all subsequent generations. The most renowned poets of the time were Shunzei, Teika, Saigyō, and Iyetaka. In Kamakura, also, the Shōgun Sanetomo was an accomplished writer of Japanese poetry. The grace and polish of his songs in the old-time style, as well as the verve and spirit of their sentiments, reflecting truly the mood of his era, find no parallel in cognate compositions subsequent to the Nara Epoch.

Owing to the great popularity of Japanese poetry in those days, people began, for the first time, to study it under teachers. Thus there came into vogue men who made a business of giving instruction in the art of poetry, the profession being transmitted from generation to generation in the same family. The result was that canons of style and tricks of composition peculiar to special schools of teachers became more or less binding upon students of those schools, inevitable injury being done to originality and vigour. To these circumstances may be attributed a gradual decline of poetic ability.

## SECTION IX.

### *New Sects of Buddhism.*

During the Heian Epoch, two Buddhist Sects, the *Tendai*, founded by Saijō, and the *Shingon*, by Kūkai, were incomparably the most influential, all others being more or less in a state of decline. But towards the close of the epoch, the priests, as already related, began to take more interest in military affairs than in religious functions. The *Tendai* and *Shingon* were both sects of recondite and

lofty tenets, somewhat above the comprehension of the uneducated classes. Yoritomo, when he came into power, interdicted the use of arms by priests, and encouraged them to devote their attention entirely to literature. The prestige of the *Tendai* and the *Shingon* suffered from these events, and as their doctrines had never satisfied the bulk of the people, there began to appear, during the Kamakura Epoch, priests who preached a different form of the faith.

While Saga reigned, during the Heian Epoch, a Chinese Bonze called Gikū came to Japan, and residing at the temple Tōji in Kyōto, preached the tenets of the *Zen* Sect. The Emperor himself paid frequent visits to this priest, and the Empress caused to be erected on behalf of the Sect the temple Danrin-ji, in Saga. Subsequently the propagandism of this Sect was discontinued. But, at the commencement of the reign of Gotoba, a Bonze of Bitchū, named Eisai, having travelled to China and studied the doctrines of the *Zen*, established, on his return to Japan, a Sect called *Zenshū Rinzaiha*, which soon attracted great multitudes of disciples. The Emperor built in Kyōto the temple *Kennin-ji* for the use of Eisai and his fellow-propagandists. Another Sect, the *Jōdo*, was founded, during the reign of Takakura, by Genkū (Hōnen), a priest of Mimasaka. Its doctrine was clear and easily understood, while the manner of intoning the litanies was picturesque and impressive. This Sect also attracted large numbers of believers. But in the closing years of Genkū's ministrations, his followers began to degrade their faith by the practice of supernatural arts, until finally Genkū himself was sent into exile at the instance of the priests of *Enryaku-ji*.

During Gohorikawa's reign, a Bonze called Dōgen,

one of the disciples of Eisai, crossed to China, and having established a Sect called Zenshū Sōtōha, after his return, erected the temple Eihei-ji, in the province of Echizen. This priest had the honour of receiving a purple stole from the Emperor Gosaga, who showed great favour to Buddhism, restoring the temple *Daurin-ji* and establishing several other religious institutions. Hōjō Tokiyori was also a believer in the doctrines taught by Dōgen, and, at the same time, showed marked favour to another Bonze, Dōriu, of Chinese origin, for whom he built the temple Kenchō-ji, and, at a subsequent date, the temple Saimyō-ji. The Emperor Kameyama was a follower of the Zen Sect, and built for its disciples the temple Nanzen-ji in Kyōto, while Hōjō Tokimune patronized the Chinese Bonzè Sogen, and erected the temple Engaku-ji for his ministrations. Thereafter the Zen Sect attained prominent popularity among the military men at Kamakura, and developed wide-spread influence. Its temples, Kenchō-ji and Engaku-ji, stood on an equal footing with the Kennin-ji and Tōfuku-ji of Kyōto. As for the Jōdo Sect despite the opposition it encountered from the priests and disciples of the Tendai Sect, it found much favour among the people, being well adapted to the spirit of the times. Its founder Genkū was pardoned, and returning from his place of exile, took up his abode at the temple Chion-in in Kyōto, which became the headquarters of his followers. A disciple of his, named Hanyen, built the temple Koshō-ji at Yamashina in Kyōto, and made himself so conspicuous by inculcating the duty of perpetual prayer that he was sent into exile. Subsequently, however, his sentence being revoked, he changed his name to Shinran, and preached the doctrine of his sect in Kwantō and Hokuriku. Though originally a disciple of the Jōdo Sect,

Hanyen thought a doctrine simpler than that of the Jōdo, and moreover did not require his disciples either to abstain from meat or to observe celibacy. He found many believers and gave to his sect the name Ikkō-shū. Yet another branch of the Jōdo Sect, the *Jishū*, was founded by a Bonze named Ippen, whose chief object was itinerant preaching. Hence men gave him the name of Yūgyō-shōnin, or the itinerant preacher. He established temples at Fujisawa in Sagami and at Shijō in Kyōto. Thus there were no less than three sects all using the same litany. Further, during the reign of Gofukakusa, a priest of Awa, named Nichiren, who had originally been a follower of the Shingon-shū, studied the tenets of the Jōdo Sect, and modified them so as to become the basis of a new Sect—the Hokke-shū—the doctrines of which resembled those of the Jōdo, but the formulæ of worship were those of Nichiren himself. Nichiren had political ideas as well as religious. He published a book *(ankokuron)* discussing measures to secure the peace of the State, and predicting another Mongolian invasion of Japan. A copy of this work was presented to Hōjō Tokiyori, but he, being an ardent believer in the Zen Sect, exiled Nichiren to the province of Izu. Nichiren was not awed by this treatment. On his return from exile he criticized the Hōjō with less restraint than ever, and sentence of banishment once more went forth against him. The island of Sado was his second place of exile. After a time he obtained his release, and resuming his propagandism, established in the province of Kai the famous temple Minobu-san, the head-quarters of the Hokke Sect.

It may be generally said of the sects founded at that era, as for example the Nembutsu-shū and the Hokke-shū,

that they attached less importance to tenets and doctrine than to beauty and harmony of litanies and to impressiveness of paraphernalia. Assisted by these devices, Buddhism spread widely among the masses, but the ancient Shintō creed remained without change.

## SECTION X.

### *Agriculture.*

With reference to agriculture, the period under review presents no specially noteworthy features, if we except the introduction of tea from beyond the sea. When the Bonze Eisai returned from China, as described in the preceding Section, he brought with him some seed of the tea plant, and sowed it on the Seburi hills in Chikuzen. Subsequently he cultivated the seedings at a place called Toganoo in Kyōto. But the people did not readily approve the new beverage. They pronounced it poisonous and refused to drink it. To remove these prejudices, Eisai published a book (*Kissa Yōjōki*), in which the merits of tea from a hygienic point of view were set forth at length. From that time dates the custom of tea-drinking in Kyōto.

## SECTION XI.

### *Industry and Art.*

The most remarkable industrial achievement of the era was the progress made in tempering sword-blades. The skill developed in that direction may be attributed to the demand for weapons of war that grew out of the fierce and long-continued struggles of *Hōgen and Heiji*

Gotoba, after he had abdicated the sceptre and become ex-Emperor, freely indulged his keen love for sword-blades. He engaged sword-smiths and kept them perpetually tempering steel. So strong, indeed, was His Majesty's fancy for such work that he did not hesitate to forge blades with his own hands. Naturally a great impulse was thus given to the industry. In the reign of Gouda, a sword-smith, Yoshimitsu, who worked at Awata in Kyoto, attained great fame. Yukiyasu, of Satsuma, a contemporary manufacturer, was not less skilled, and in other provinces men of note practised the art. Still more celebrated was Masamune, the prince of sword-smiths, who flourished at Kamakura while Godaigo was on the Throne. Blades forged by Yoshimitsu, Masamune, and Yoshihiro, a pupil of Masamune, received from subsequent generations the name of *Sansaku*, or "the three *chefs-d' œuvre*."

Much progress was also made in the art of forging armour, helmets, bridle-bits, and such things. During the reign of Konoye a worker in metals named Myōchin Munesuke attained a high reputation for skill in such work. His residence was originally in the province of Idzumo, but he ultimately moved to Kyōto. From the latter city a son of his, named Munekiyo, proceeded to Kamakura and there manufactured many noble specimens of his handicraft, and thenceforth through several centuries, the Myochin family furnished many skilled artists whose productions excite the admiration of our own era.

The manufacture of lacquer was practised successfully at an early period of Japanese history, but during the latter part of the Heian Epoch the art declined appreciably.



Swordsmith.





Helmets by Myochin.

Helmets by Myrmin.

Under the influence, however, of official protection and public encouragement it subsequently resumed a progressive tendency, so that there have descended to us from the era now under review many works of great beauty and technical excellence. For example, glyptic works of the highest skill were produced at Kamakura. Such was their excellence that to have come from Kamakura was regarded as a conclusive *cachet* of quality. Speaking generally, however, the military administrators of Kamakura set their faces against luxury and encouraged frugal fashions, so that their influence tended to check rather than to promote the progress of art manufactures.

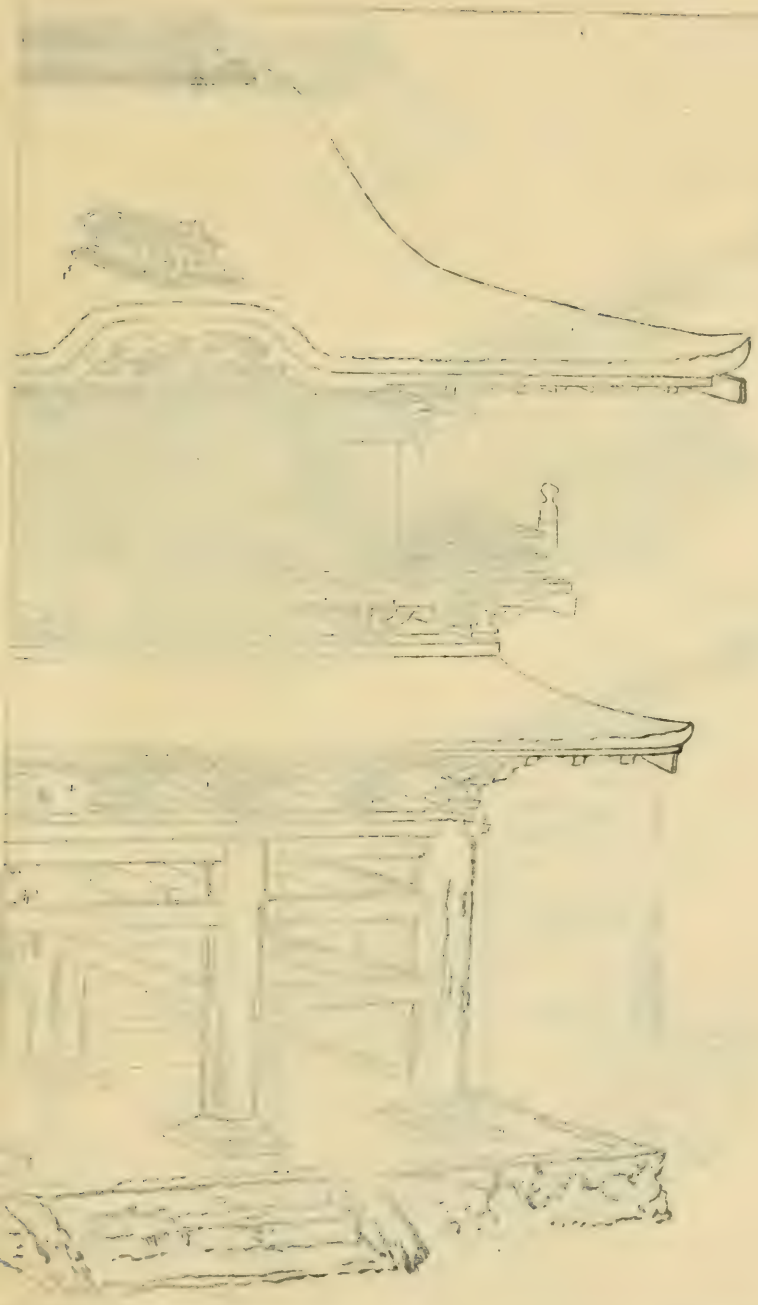
Turning to architecture, we find that temple building did not take place on such a fine scale under the administration of the Kamakura Shogunate as during the Heian Epoch, and the architectural art, which in Japan has always gone hand-in-hand with the growth of religious edifices, suffered correspondingly. The rapid spread of the Zen doctrines, however, was accompanied by the construction of numerous places of worship for that sect. In these edifices the architects followed with more or less fidelity, models furnished by Chinese masters of the *Sung* Dynasty, whereas previously *Tang* models had been affected. For the rest, the architecture of the era underwent no change worthy of special notice.

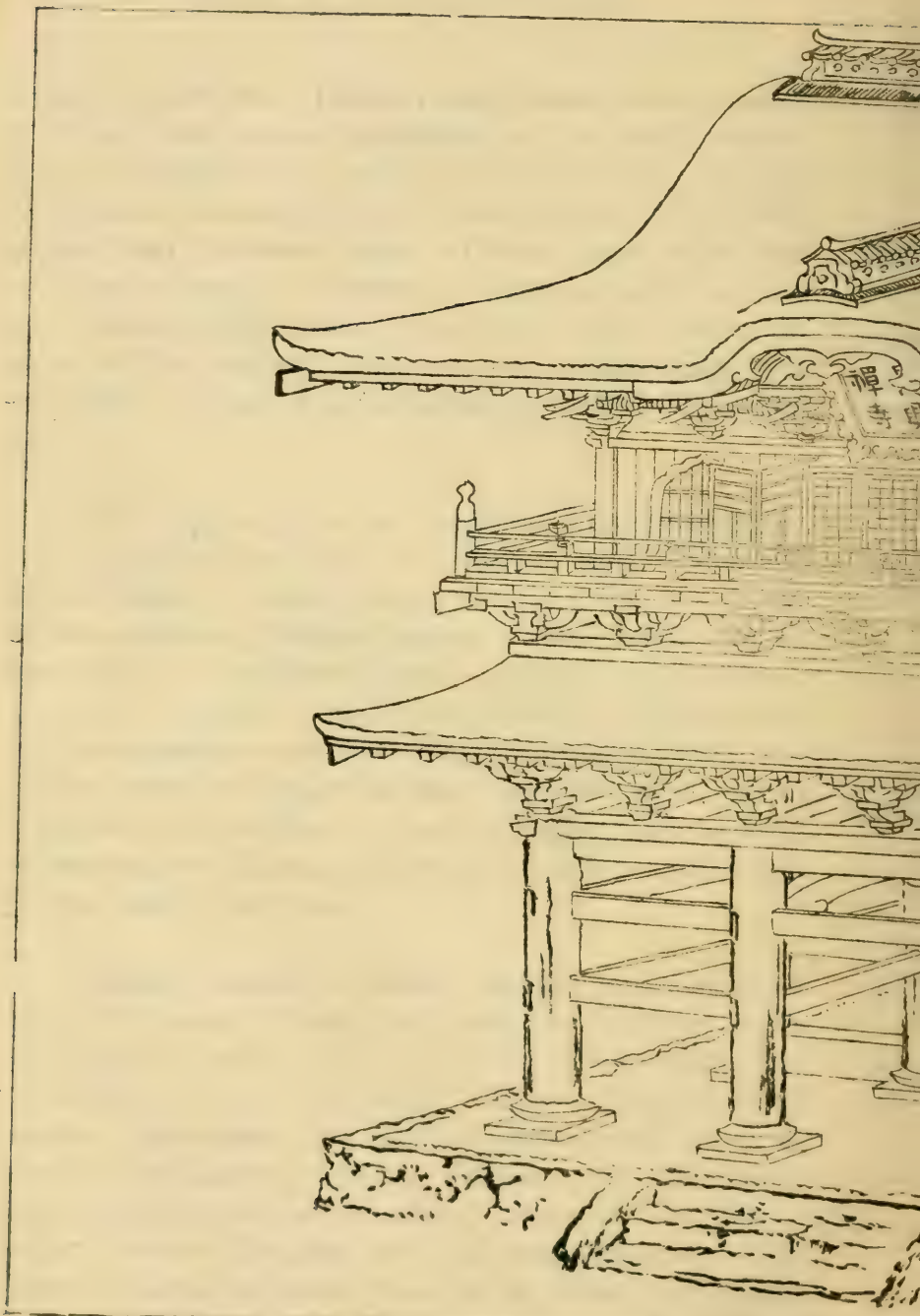
In the domain of Keramics, a potter named Katō Kagemasa—more commonly called Tōshirō—enjoyed considerable reputation during the reign of Gohorikawa. In the year 1222—first year of the *Jō-ō* era—this artist visited China, and having there studied Keramic processes, was enabled, on his return to Japan, to introduce many tech-

nical improvements. His kiln was at Seto, in the province of Owari, and several generations of his family worked there successfully. So great was the influence exercised on Japanese Keramics by the achievements of the Seto potters, that *Seto-mono* (wares of Seto) came to be used as a generic term for Keramic productions, and is so used still. Subsequently, while Gouda was on the Throne, an artist of Ōmi province commenced the manufacture of a ware which attained a considerable vogue, the *Shigaraki-yaki*.

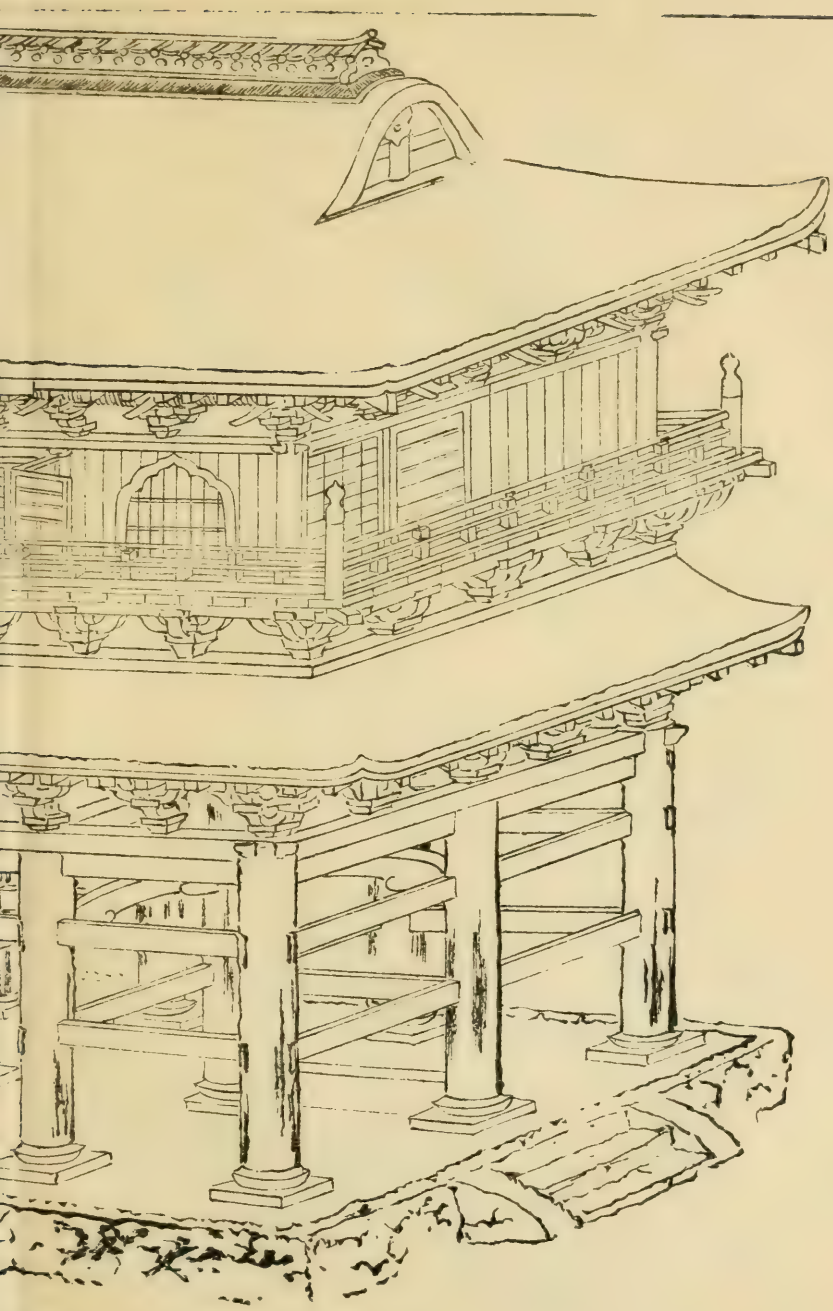
As for glyptic artists, the Kamakura Epoch bequeathed to posterity two names of the highest fame, Unkei and his son, Tankei. These masters devoted themselves chiefly to the sculpture of Buddhist images. Unkei was descended from Jōchō, a celebrated carver of idols who flourished at an earlier epoch. Kōyen, the grandson of Unkei, working in conjunction with Chin-Wakyō, produced many exquisite articles of temple furniture, and carried the art of sculpture at Kamakura to such a height that the term *Kamakura-bori* (Kamakura carving) came to be a synonym for fine work of that class.

Painting underwent notable changes in the epoch of which we write. During the closing years of the Heian era, Japanese artists, who had hitherto devoted themselves to working in the style of the Chinese Han and Tang masters, abandoned that kind of painting and began to develop the Japanese style, or *Yamato-e*. To the Kamakura age belonged such renowned artists as Tosa Mitsunaga, Takuma Tamehisa, and Fujiwara Nobuzane. But as the Kamakura epoch drew to its closs, the Chinese schools of the *Sung* and *Yuan* dynasties found large

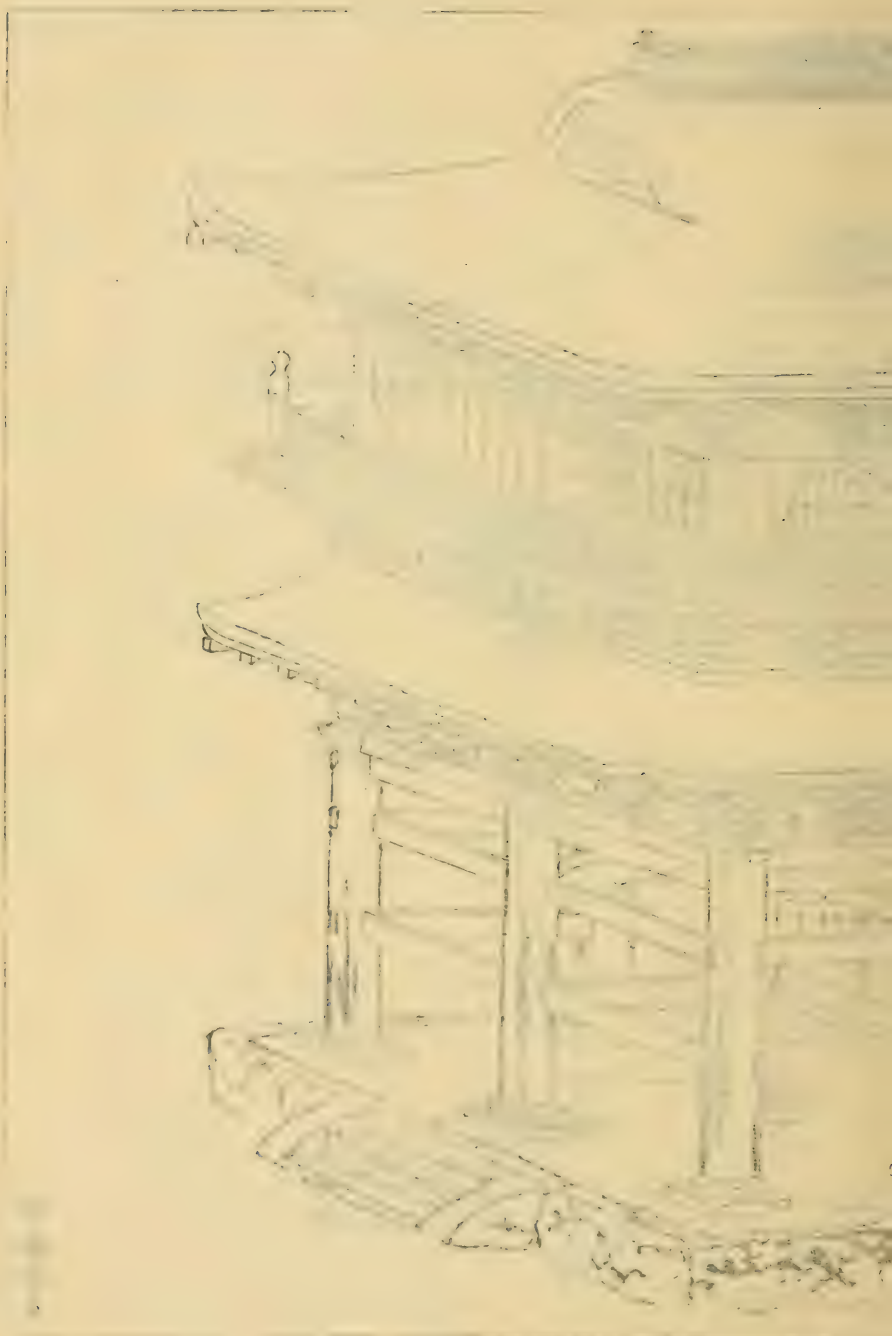




The Buddh



Temple Kencho.







Ni-o by Unke





favour in Japan. From that time also dates the *Sumi-e*, or Indian-ink picture, in which refinement of style was regarded as the chief desideratum. This fashion of painting subsequently obtained such development as to take precedence of even the Yamato school.

## SECTION XII.

### *Trade and Commerce.*

After the organization of the Shōgunate, merchants from various parts of the empire assembled at Kamakura, which therefore became the commercial centre of the country, whereas in Kyōto commerce gradually declined. There were at that epoch seven kinds of markets where articles were sold at small stores specially designed and constructed, and the custom of peddling merchandise also existed. In the case of business transacted at a distance, the system of using bills of exchange had already come into vogue.

While Sanetomo administrated the Shōgunate, an official limit was fixed for the number of merchants conducting business in Kamakura. This was the origin of hereditary privileges of trade. The prices for the various staples of commerce were determined, according to the custom of previous times. In the fourth year of the *Kenkiū* era (1193 A.D.), while Gotoba was on the Throne, an Imperial Notification declared that rice should be sold at one thousand cash (one *Kwammon*), or the tenth of a *Riyo*,—that is to say nominally ten *sen* according to present denominations, but of course representing a much large sum

at that time. Again, in the fifth year of the *Kenchō* era (1253 A.D.), fire-wood, charcoal, and other necessaries having risen in price, Hōjō Tokiyori proclaimed the rate at which each must be sold.

Gold was at that time constantly mined in Ōshū, but it did not serve for coinage purpose. The media of exchange used by the people were Chinese copper and iron cash of the *Sung* Dynasty and similar Japanese coins of earlier days. Owing to this mixture of media difficulties were experienced in fixing the average prices of staples, and the Emperor Gotoba consequently issued an order, in the fourth year of the *Kenkiu* era (1193 A.D.), forbidding the use of Chinese coins. Another edict, issued by the Emperor Kameyama in the third year of the *Kōchō* era (1263 A.D.), interdicted the circulation of clipped coins; that is to say, portions of whole coins. At that epoch also grass cloth was employed as a medium of exchange, and prices were quoted in terms of it, the name given to it being *jumpu*. In the second year of the *Karoku* era (1220 A.D.), Gohorikawa being on the Throne, Hōjō Tokimune despatched to China a merchant who was instructed to exchange Japanese gold for Chinese copper coins.

Operations of borrowing and lending money were largely carried on in this epoch, evidently with abuses incidental to all such transactions in early times, for we find that, in the second year of the *Karoku* era (1266 A.D.), the Emperor Gohorikawa revived the *Kōnin-kenkiu* statutes, by which the period of a loan was fixed at one year, and the interest was limited to fifty per centum of the principal, with the further proviso that the debt should not increase with lapse of time, neither should the debtor be liable for

interest over and above the rate entered in the original promissor note. Loans were made, for the most part, at from five to eight per cent monthly. About the seventh year of the *Kenchō* era (1255 A.D.), the custom of pledging garments and other articles when making loans was much in vogue, and money does not seem to have been lent without security. As for lands, it was provided that they must not be mortgaged for a period exceeding twenty years.

Trade with China, under the Sung Dynasty, and with Korea—or Koma, as it was then called—was carried on largely at Hakata in Chikuzen and Bōnotsu in Satsuma. Import duties upon foreign goods was levied at the various ports of entry when Amano Tōkage became Governor of Kiushū. A tax had previously been imposed by the Konoye Family upon Chinese articles entered at the port of Bōnotsu. The principal imports from China were raw silk, indigo, Chinese ink, porcelain vessels, mats, and so forth, while the staple exports from Japan were rice, other cereals, and timber. In the sixth of the *Kenchō* era (1254 A.D.), Hōjō Tokiyori limited the number of ships engaged in the China trade to five, and ordered all except these licensed vessels to be destroyed. But the trade continued as brisk as ever. Subsequently, however, during the interval that separated the decline of the *Sung* Dynasty from the establishment of the *Yuan*, intercourse between Japan and the neighbouring empire underwent some diminution, and was suspended altogether for a time after the Mongol invasion of Japan.

## CHAPTER II.

### SECTION I.

### *Emperor reigning alternately.*

The establishment of the Shōgun's government at Kamakura and the extensive authority wielded by it, provoked dissatisfaction in the Court in Kyōto, and inspired a desire to strip the Shogunate of its paramount power should any favourable occasion offer. But although the Minamoto Family fell, no such opportunity presented itself. The Hōjō succeeded the Minamoto, and the sceptre of affairs remained as before in Kamakura. The outcome of this Imperial umbrage on the one side and military usurpation on the other, was the *Shōkiu* disturbance, the outlines of which have already been related. It did not further the cause of the Court. On the contrary, the three ex-Emperors, Gotoba, Tsuchimikado, and Juntoku, were sent to distant islands by Hōjō Yoshitoki, and many Court nobles and military men who had espoused the Imperial side were either killed or banished. Thenceforth the influence of the military class became more supreme than ever, and culminated in interference even with the order of Imperial Succession. This unprecedented incident of Japanese history occurred on the death of the Emperor Shijō. There being no direct heir, the Kyōto Regent, Fujiwara Michiiye, advocated the accession of the ex-Emperor Juntoku's son, but the Kamakura Regent, Hōjō Yasutoki, opposed the project on the ground that the ex-Emperor had been a party to the *Shōkiu* disturbance. On the other hand, the ex-Emperor Tsuchimikado had raised his voice against the *Shōkiu* affair, and his son consequently receiving Yasutoki's support, came to the Throne as Gosaga. This Sovereign married a lady of

the Saionji Family, which had supported the fortunes of the Hōjō in the *Shōkiu* war. Moreover, His Majesty refrained from all direct interference in administrative affairs, leaving everything in the hands of the Hōjō, and thus contributing materially to the decline of the Imperial power. Upon Gosaga's abdication, the two Princes Gofukakusa and Kameyama succeeded him in turn, Gosaga, as ex-Emperor continuing to take part in governmental affairs during a period of thirty years. Gofukakusa was older than his brother Kameyama, but the latter possessed abilities of a much higher order, and the possibility of his restoring the Imperial prestige was regarded hopefully by the ex-Emperor. Hence it fell out the Gosaga, at his death, left a will securing to Kameyama and his descendants the sword of the Shōgun Sakanouye and the right to rule in perpetuity, while at the same time he willed to Gofukakusa and his descendants the domain of Chōkōdō, a temple which the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa had built and endowed with great estates in eighty localities. In accordance with this testament, Gouda, the eldest son of Kameyama, ascended the Throne, his father, as ex-Emperor, controlling Court affairs. This phase of events roused the indignation of the other ex-Emperor, Gofukakusa, who appealed for aid to the Hōjō Family. The appeal met with a favourable reception. Hōjō Tokimune insisted upon the Sceptre being given to Fushimi, son of Gofukakusa, alleging that the Succession properly belonged to the latter's line, and that, moreover, the virtues of Gofukakusa warranted such a choice. The ex-Emperor Kameyama took strong objection to this ruling, but emissaries of Gofukakusa defamed Kameyama to the Hōjō Family, alleging that His Majesty harboured resentment on account of the sequel of the *Shōkiu* trouble, and was always planning some scheme of revenge; representations

which led the Shōgun to believe that the interest of the Hōjō would be imperilled were the Throne occupied by the descendants of Kameyama, so that he finally took steps to secure the Succession to Fushimi's son, Gofushimi. Here, however, interference arose in another quarter. The ex-Emperor Gouda despatched an envoy to Kamakura to inquire why the terms of Gosaga's will were not observed. Hence Hōjō Sadatoki decided that the descendants of Go-fukakusa and Kameyama should reign alternately, each for ten years. Kameyama's line came first to the Throne in the person of Gonijō, eldest son of Gouda, the Prince Imperial being Hanazono, younger brother of Gofushimi. Hanazono in turn abdicated in favour of Godaigo, grandson of Kameyama and younger son of Gouda (reference to the Table below will make these alternations clear). Gouda, the ex-Emperor, lived at the temple Daikaku-ji in Saga, and Fushimi, ex-Emperor of the other line, was confined in the temple Jimyō-in. Thus the descendants of Gofukakusa came to be called the Line of Jimyō-in, while those of Kameyama were known as the Daikaku-ji Line.

TABLE SHOWING LINEAGE AND CHRONOLOGY OF SOVEREIGNS.

88th Emperor Gosaga (1243-1247 A.D.)

| *Jimyō-in* Line. | | *Daikaku-ji* Line. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 89th Emperor Gofukakusa (1247-1266 A.D.) | | 90th Emperor Kameyama (1266-1276 A.D.) | |
| 92nd Emperor Fushimi (1288-1299 A.D.) | | 91st Emperor Gouda (1276-1288 A.D.) | |
| 93rd Emperor Gofushimi (1299-1301 A.D.) | 95th Emperor Hanazono (1308-1319 A.D.) | 94th Emperor Gonijō (1301-1308 A.D.) | 96th Emperor Godaigo (1319-1339 A.D.) |

The system that the descendants of the two lines should reign alternately was devised with the object of

securing undisturbed tenure of power to the Hōjō Family. Just as in the Government at Kyoto the Hōjō, seeking to nullify the influence of the Fujiwara, had arranged that the office of Regent should be held in succession by the five branches of that Family, namely, the Konoye, the Kujō, the Nijō, the Ichijō, and the Takadzukasa, so, in the case of the Sovereignty itself, they conceived the scheme of a divided house, which rule, had it remained in operation, must have inured steadily to the advantage of the Kamakura potentates. But the project was inherently impracticable. For though, when a Prince of the Jimyō-in Line came to the Throne, the revenue of the Chōkō-dō domains enabled him to support his Imperial state and to reign without pecuniary embarrassment, the case was very different with the Princes of the Daikaku-ji Line. Finding themselves always in straitened circumstances, they were discontented and sought constantly to introduce reforms. On the one side were the prosperous sovereigns of the Jimyō-in Line, conservative and well disposed towards the Shogunate at Kamakura; on the other were the penurious monarchs of the Daikaku-ji Line, anxious only to see the Shogunate overthrown. Out of such a state of affairs it was almost inevitable that a war should be evolved, and that a dual Sovereignty should take the place of the single Emperor system. Such indeed was the issue, as we proceed now to relate.

## SECTION II.

### *The Genkō War.*

As the power of the Hōjō declined, the administration of justice fell into disorder. The Kamakura Regent, Taka-

toki, was a man of little intelligence and dissolute habits. He spent his time looking at the dance called Dengaku or witnessing dog-fights, and paid no attention whatever to the business of government. Thus it fell out that the *Naikwanryō*, Nagasaki Takasuke, who directed the affairs of the Hōjō Family, found himself altogether untrammelled in the exercise of his authority. Bribery became frequent; partiality presided at the tribunals of justice, and dissatisfaction with the Hōjō rule began to prevail. Indignant at the arbitrariness and injustice of the Kamakura administration, and still smarting under a sence of the indignities suffered by the Sovereigns in the sequel of the *Shōkiu* war, the Emperor Godaigo, of the Daikaku-ji Line, conceived the design of overthrowing the Shogunate. In pursuance of this project, Assistant Councillor of State, Hino Suketomo, and the *Kurando*, Hino Toshimoto, secretly proceeded to Kamakura and entered into a compact with the discontented Samurai there, and in the first year of the *Shōchiu* era (1324 A.D.) two military nobles of Mino, Toki Yorikane and Tajimi Kuninaga, went to Kyoto to cöoperate with the Emperor. These four men were, however, arrested by the Hōjō officials at Rokuhara, and sent under escort to Kamakura. The Northern Regent now took steps to dethrone Godaigo and replace him by a Sovereign better disposed to the Hōjō House, but the Emperor averted that result by addressing to Takatoki a solemn profession of innocence and goodwill. The *Kurando*, Toshimoto, was thereupon released, and Suketomo alone was punished by exile to Sado.

Another cause of dissension was furnished by the Succession. The Prince Kuninaga, son of the Emperor Gonijō, had been named Heir Apparent by the retired

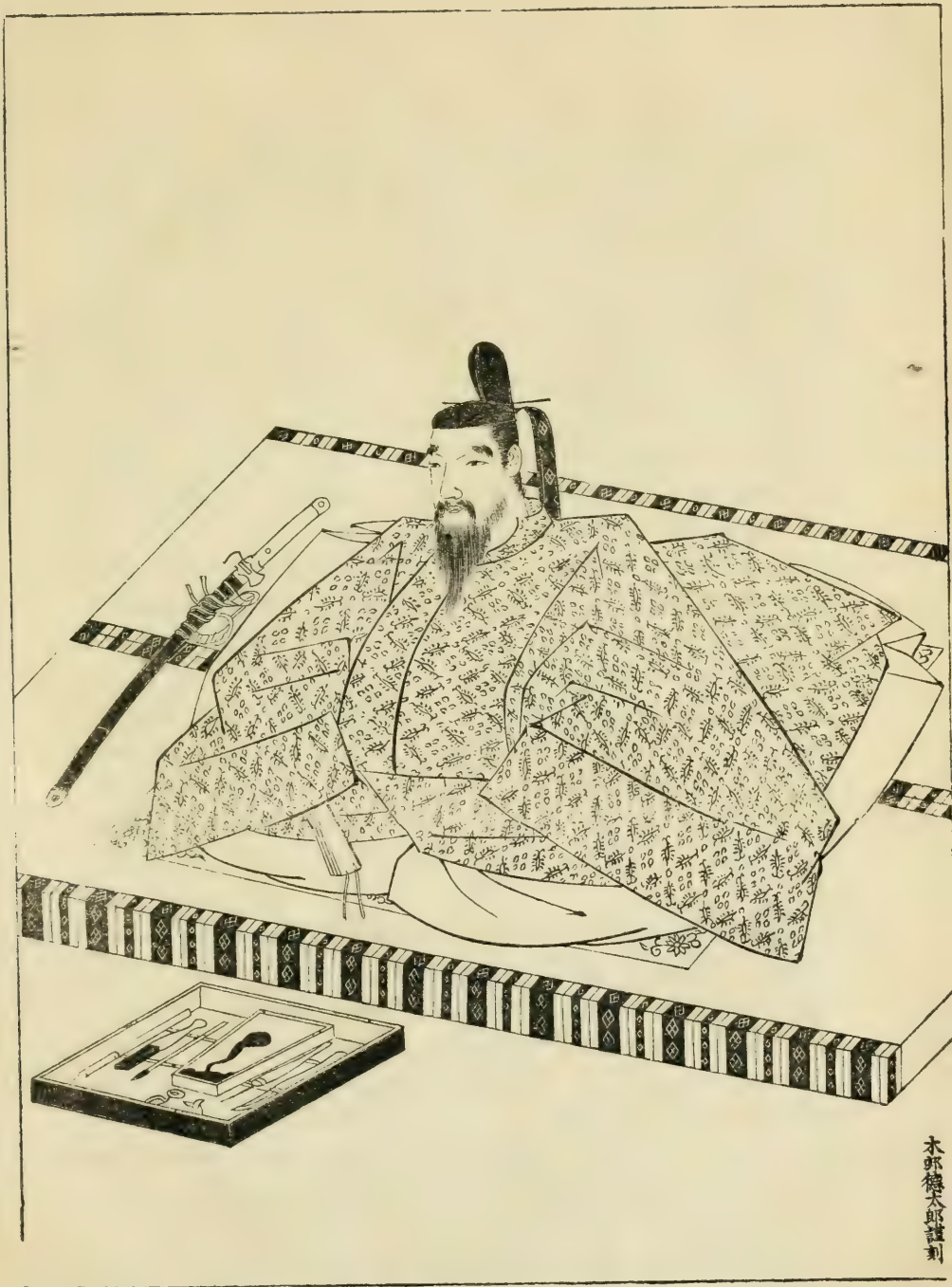



Image of the Emperor Godaigo.

Tomb of the Emperor Cocango.

Emperor Gouda, and should therefore have succeeded Godaigo. But both the ex-Emperer and the Prince having died, Godaigo thought that he saw an opportunity to break through the rule of alternate Succession, and sought to have his own son named Heir Apparent. This project was peremptorily opposed by the Shōgun, who insisted upon rigid observance of the rule of alternate Succession, and caused Prince Kazuhito to be nominated Heir Apparent. The umbrage produced by this failure was accentuated when another project of the Emperor's, namely, the transfer of the Chōkō-dō estates to the Daikaku-ji Line, met with a similarly implacable veto at Kamakura. Godaigo was now full of anger against the Hōjō, but the latter's immense military following rendered hopeless all schemes of open defiance. Under the circumstances the Emperor conceived the idea of having recourse to priestly aid. He placed his son, Prince Morinaga, in the post of Lord Abbot of Enryaku-ji, and he himself proceeded to Hiyeizan and Nara, where he succeeded in winning the affection of the priests, and in elaborating with them a scheme for the overthrow of the Hōjō Family. But this plan also was divulged, and Toshimoto, who had been a party to it, was again arrested. The *Naikwanryō*, Takasuke, now urged that the Emperor and his son should be sent into exile, inasmuch as they had plotted the destruction of the Hōjō rule, and the Regent accepted this counsel contrary to the advice of one of his principal generals, Nikaidō Sadafuji. In August of the first year of the *Genkō* era (1331 A.D.), the Regent sent Sadafuji at the head of three thousand men to Kyōto, with orders to arrest the Emperor. But Prince Morinaga having obtained intelligence of what was pending, Godaigo escaped from the Palace during the night, carrying with him the Three Insignia—the Mirror, the Sword, and the Jewel—

and took refuge on Mount Kasagi, where he mustered his partizans from the neighbouring provinces and posted them for the protection of his temporary residence. Takatoki thereupon caused the Heir Apparent, Kazuhito, to be raised to the Throne as Kōgon, and directed his troops against the retreat of Godaigo, which place was destroyed, the dethroned Emperor being captured and carried to Rokuhara, and the Insignia being restored the reigning Sovereign. In March of the following year, the Regent Takatoki removed Godaigo to Oki, and sent the two Princes, his sons, into banishment in Sado and Sanuki.

About this time a warrior destined to become very famous, Kusunoki Masashige, raised the standard of revolt in Kawachi and declared in favour of the exiled Emperor. He constructed a castle at Akasaka, and though it was destroyed by the Hōjō partizans, he retired to Mount Kongō and held his ground there, subsequently developing sufficient strength to restore the fortifications at Akasaka. Meanwhile Prince Morinaga raised troops and fought against the Hōjō at Yoshino in Yamato, and afterwards at Kōya in Kii. The time had now come for the Hōjō to put forth their strength. In February of the third year of *Genkō* (1333 A.D.) a large army was sent from Kamakura against Kyōto, but great numbers of fighting men flocked to the Imperial standard in Sanyō and Nankai, and in the following month the exiled Emperor escaped from Oki and proceeded to Hōki, being supported by Nawa Nagatoshi, who raised troops in the San-in districts. The provinces of Hizen and Higo were also on the Emperor's side, as was the powerful Yūki Family of Mutsu. Thus it fell out that the Hōjō's army which had been despatched against Kyōto, suffered defeat in several engagements. Takatoki

now sent Ashikaga Takauji to assume charge of the campaign in Kyōto and its neighbourhood. This was a fatal choice. For not only was Takauji closely related to the Minamoto Family whom the Hōjō had overthrown, but he also viewed with strong disfavour the oppressive arbitrariness of the latter. Hence, no sooner hed he reached Kyōto than he declared for the Imperial cause, and, in concert with Minamoto Tada-aki, Akamatsu Norimura, and other generals, attacked and destroyed Rokuhara, the headquarters of the Hōjō Administration in Kyōto. This event occurred in May, 1333 A.D. The Imperial forces then reoccupied Kyōto. About this time Nitta Yoshisada, a renowned member of the Minamoto Family, laid seige to the fortress which Kusunoki Masashige had constructed on Mount Kongō, combining the forces of Hōjō for the purpose. But Prince Morinaga opened relations with him, and, in obedience to the Prince's secret instructions, he pretexted illness, retired to his own province of Kōzuke, and after consultation with his relative and partizans, raised the standard of revolt against Kamakura. Events now marched rapidly. All the blood relatives of the Minamoto Family in Echigo and Shinano came together, and marching against Kamakura in great numbers, demolished or burnt all the offices and public buildings there. On the 22nd of May in the same year, the Regent Takatoki, together with all the members of his family, committed suicide, and the rule of the Hōjō came to an end.

A month later—on the 5th of the 6th month, 1333 A.D.—the exiled Emperor returned from Hōki and re-entered Kyōto in state. He altered to *Kembu* the year name (*Shōkyō*), adopted by the Emperor Kōgon, and cancelled all the rank and appointments conferred by that Sovereign.

He also confiscated the estates of the Hōjō Family, and in recognition of the eminent services rendered by Ashikaga Takauji, Kusunoki Masashige, Nitta Yoshisada, and Nawa Nagatoshi, they were all appointed Lord Wardens. As for Prince Morinaga, who had shown such address and valour, the Emperor nominated him Shogun. This Prince subsequently forfeited the Imperial favour and was deprived of his high office, being succeeded in it by Prince Narinaga. Tadayoshi, the younger brother of Ashikaga Takauji, accompanied Prince Narinaga to Kamakura, and assisted him to bring the eastern provinces into complete subjection; while Kitabatake Chikafusa and his son Akiiye were sent, under the leadership of Prince Yoshinaga, to Mutsu for the purpose of establishing the Imperial sway in Mutsu and Deba. Prince Yoshinaga established tribunals of justice in the north, and sought to confer on the people the blessing of security of life and property. Meanwhile, the military men and landholders of the various provinces flocked to Kyōto to urge their merits at Court and to obtain confirmed possession of their holdings or additional grants. But great difficulty was experienced in determining the truth or falsehood of the statements made by these ambitious claimants. Moreover, the Sovereign having already made large gifts of land to his favourites, little remained for division among the warriors whose exploits in the Imperial cause had merited munificent treatment. Thus discontent and disappointment began to be felt, and men's minds once more turned to the sword.

## SECTION III.

### *The Northern and Southern Dynasties.*

Nitta Yoshisada's ancestor, being on bad terms with

Yoritomo, had lived in retirement at Nitta in Kōzuke. Men knew and thought very little about him. On the other hand, Ashikaga Takauji was not only a blood relative of the Minamoto Family, but could also claim close connection with the Hōjō through marriages effected by his ancestors. He enjoyed both influence and popularity. When the day had been won for the Imperial cause, and the Hōjō head-quarters at Rokuhara had fallen, the Emperor, greatly pleased by Takauji's achievements, conferred on him rewards such as no one else received, and authorized him, among other things, to take the name of "Taka," which was one of the ideographs in the name of the Sovereign himself. Prince Morinaga entertained a strong dislike of Takauji, and sought to compass his ruin, which project, having become known to the Ashikaga chief, was by him exposed to the Sovereign, with a prayer that the Prince should be punished. The Emperor finally yielded to these representations, and causing the Prince to be arrested, placed him in confinement in Kamakura. Shortly afterwards, the remaining partizans of the Hōjō assembled in Shinano and marched against Kamakura. Tadayoshi, who was in military charge of the place, finding himself unable to defend it, retreated to Mikawa, having first caused Prince Morinaga to be put to death. Takauji sought the Emperor's permission to proceed to the scene of disturbance, and having affected a union with Tadayoshi, he destroyed the Hōjō Partizans, re-occupied Kamakura, and bestowed rewards on the captains and warriors who had aided him. Takauji now gave the reins to his own ambition. Established at Kamakura, he called himself Shōgun, and under pretext of subduing Nitta Yoshisada, sent orders throughout the provinces directing that troops should be raised. In consequence of these doings the Emperor con-

certed measures for the overthrow of Takauji. He appointed Prince Takanaga the chief command of a large army, with Nitta Yoshisada as chief of staff, and at the same time he instructed Kitabatake of Mutsu to attack Takauji's rear.

In November of the second year of *Kembu* (1335 A.D.), Yoshisada encountered the forces of Takauji in Suruga and Mikawa, and defeated them in successive engagements; but Takauji, and Tadayoshi subsequently, established themselves at strong positions in the Hakone district, and Yoshisada's army attempting to dislodge them, suffered a signal defeat and was driven westward. This event determined the various provincial magnates who had formerly supported the Shogunate to declare for Takauji, and the Ashikaga chief found himself strong enough, in the following year, to pursue Yoshisada and push on to Kyōto, where, though stoutly opposed by Kusunoki Masashige, Nawa Nagatoshi, and others, he gained the victory, the Emperor retreating to the temple Enryaku-ji. Meanwhile, Kitabatake Akiiye, High Constable of Chinjufu, with an army under the command of Prince Yoshinaga, followed Takauji to Kyōto, ond having effected a junction with the forces of Nitta Yoshisada and Kusunoki Masashige, succeeded in defeating the Ashikaga chief. Shortly afterwards, Takauji sustained another severe defeat in Hyōgo at the hands of Yoshisada, Masashige, and others, and was compelled to retreat precipitately westward, the Imperialists once more re-occupying Kyōto.

The restoration of the Imperial authority by Godaigo was the signal for a loss of power by the Princes of the Jimyō-in Line, who found themselves thrust completely

into the background. Takauji descried an opportunity in this circumstance. Addressing himself to the dethroned Emperor Kōgon, he obtained a mandate to raise an army. With remarkable energy he got together troops from all parts of the empire and once more renewed the contest, defeating Kikuchi, Aso, Akidzuki and other supporters of the Daigaku-ji Princes at Tataranohama. Stationing a trusted general in Kiushū, with instructions to bring the provinces in that quarter under control, he himself advanced eastward by land and by sea at the head of troops raised in Nankai and Chiugoku. Yoshisada and Masashige made a desperate stand in Hyōgo against the Ashikaga Army, but were defeated, Masashige falling on the field of battle at Minatogawa. The Imperial cause suffered seriously by his death.

The beginning of the *Genkō* era had seen Kusunoki Masashige shut up with a handful of soldiers in an independent castle, heroically defending himself against the great armies of the Kwantō. Sacrificing everything in the cause of loyalty, he steadily supported his Sovereign. A captain of wonderful resource, he often planned stratagems that brought disaster on the foe. An enthusiastic servant of the Emperor, he taught the public by example and precept the duty of supporting their Sovereign. To him more than to any other was due the restoration of the Imperial authority. But when selfish ambition began to divide the Sovereign's supporters Masashige's wise counsels were no longer followed, and he fell at last in battle. With his dying breath he exhorted his son, Masatura, to fight for the success of the cause on account of which he had given his own life; and Masatsura, imbued with the same spirit as his noble father, died loyally for his Sovereign. From

the rise to the fall of the Ashikaga Family, Masashige and his descendants stood in the van of the Imperial cause, giving their lives and possessions to support the Southern (Daikaku-ji) Dynasty and to overthrow the Shōgun's government. By subsequent generations this distinguished man and his descendants have been regarded as types of loyalty and fidelity.

Takauji having occupied Kyōto, caused the dethroned Emperor Kōgon to be escorted thither, and sent Tadayoshi to attack the temporary palace at Hiyeizan. In the eighth year of the *Engen* era, he placed Kōgon's son upon the Throne, calling him Kōmyō. In October of the same year, the defenders of Hiyeizan finding themselves without provisions, the Emperor concluded peace with his assailants, hoping to renew the combat at some future date. Takauji then placed the defeated Emperor in confinement, assumed control of the army, and established the Shogunate at Muromachi. Fighting, however, still continued, and after a time the fortune of war turned in favour of the Southern Dynasty, so that, in December of the same year, the Emperor Kōmyō was obliged to leave Kyōto and retire to Yoshino in Yamato. During a period of fifty-seven years subsequent to that event, the government of the country was divided into two, the Sovereigns of the Northern and Southern Dynasties reigning simultaneously. Much disorder necessarily ensued in State affairs. The reader will have perceived that, from an early date in the struggle, the Daikaku-ji Line of Princes, that is to say, the descendants of the Emperor Kameyama, had come to be called the "Southern Dynasty" *(Nan-chō)*, while the Princes of the Jimyō-in Line, descended from Gofukakusa, were known as the "Northern Dynasty" *(Hoku-chō)*.

TABLE SHOWING GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DYNASTIES.

DYNASTY OF THE SOUTH.

96th Emperor Godaigo (1319-1339 A.D.)

97th Emperor Gomurakami (1339-1368 A.D.)

98th Emperor Chōkei (1368-1370 A.D.) — 99th Emperor Gokameyama (1370-1393 A.D.)

DYNASTY OF THE NORTH.

I. Kōgon (1332-1336 A.D.) — II. Kōmyo (1336-1349 A.D.)

III. Sukō (1349-1352 A.D.) — IV. Gokōgon (1352-1372 A.D.)

V. Goenyū (1372-1383 A.D.)

VI. Gokomatsu (1383-1393 A.D.)

N.B.—In the year 1393 A.D. the two Dynasties became united in the person of a single Sovereign, Gokomatsu.

Under this dual sovereignty, the great territorial magnates opposed to the Kamakura shogunate sided with the southern Dynasty, all others supporting the Northern. It was an era of perpetual conflict. Among the partizans of the southern Dynasty the most puissant and popular were Nitta Yoshisada and Kitabatake Akiiye, of whom the former had his head-quarters in Echizen, where he guarded the Heir Apparent, while the latter, under the auspices of Prince Yoshinaga, held Mutsu under control, the Emperor himself organizing his Court in Kinki (the provinces contiguous to Kyōto.) After a time, His Majesty conceived the project of restoring the Imperial city to something of its former grandeur, and in pursuance of that design would have summoned Akiiye thither. But reverses overtook the Imperial arms and the Sovereign had to abandon his project. The armies of the Shōgun invaded Echizen and destroyed the castle of Tsuruga. The great commander, Nitta Yoshisada, committed suicide, and the Imperial

strength declined appreciably. Kitabatake Chikafusa, however, maintained himself stoutly in Hitachi, whence he carried the Imperial sway into the eastern provinces. Prince Yoshinaga, holding the office of Generalissimo, exercised control in Kiushū, and other Imperial Princes were despatched to Nankai and Tōkai.

On the other side, Ashikaga Takauji concentrated a part of his forces for the defence of Kamakura, and sent others to fight against the Imperialists in Chiugoku, Kiushū, and Nankai. He himsilf received from the Northern Sovereign the title of Shōgun, and make Muromachi his seat of administration, exercising complete control of governmental functions as entrusted to him by the Northern Dynasty.

In the third year of the *Engen* era (1338 A.D.), the Emperor Godaigo died in the temporary palace at Yoshino. From the time of his exile he had always retained possession of the Sacred Jewel, and on his death-bed he summoned all the Imperial Princes to his side, and laid upon them his earnest injunctions never to rest until the Imperial power had been restored. He was succeeded by Prince Yoshinaga, who ascended the Throne as Gomurakami.

A series of reverses now overtook the Imperialists. One after another their armies were defeated in the provinces, until Kitabatake Chikafusa alone remained unconquered in Hitachi. But Chikafusa, too, were soon overpowered by the Shōgun's forces. He effected his escape to Yoshino, and the Emperor issued a summons to the warriors of Chiugoku and Nankai to reenforce the Imperial army in Kiushū. The Shōgun Kanenaga was thus enabled to bring Kiushū completely under the Imperial

sway, and this success encouraged Chikafusa, who now made one supreme effort. Assembling a force in Kyōto and its neighbourhood, he attempted to re-occupy the city, and the suddenness of his effort gave him a temporary advantage. But Takauji and Tadayoshi sent Kōno Moronao, Moroyasu, and others to attack the temporary palace at Yoshino, the defenders of which saw themselves utterly outnumbered. Kusunoki Masatsura, son of the great Masashige, had hitherto, guarded the palace with stubbon bravery. But now he and his captains bade a final farewall to their Sovereign and marching out to encounter the foe, fought their last battle at Shijō-nawate, and fell fighting. After this victory, the Shōgun's army burned the temporary palace at Yoshino, and the Emperor escayed to Anafu in Yamato.

Despite all these successes, the Shōgun's forces were unable to crush by a single effort the resistance of the Southern Dynasty's defenders, the effective strength of the Northern armies being seriously impaired by disloyalty and jealousy among the nobles that espoused the Shōgun's cause. Takauji received in his campaigns the faithful and stout support of his brother, Todayoshi, and between these two unity prevailed for a season. But when Kōno Moronao, one of Takauji's principal generals, won a victory over the Southern forces, he over-estimated his exploits, and so greatly abused his authority as to incur the jealousy and hatred of Tadayoshi. The latter, therefore, in conjunction with his son Tadafuyu, sought to compass the destruction of Moronao, but the plot became known, and Moronaō prevailed upon Takauji to condemn Tadayoshi to death. Tadayoshi consequently espoused the cause of the Southern Dynasty, but his son Tadafuyu established himself iu Chiu-

goku and refused to follow his father's example. In the following year good relations were restored beetween Takauji and Tadayoshi, but they soon again became enemies, with the result that Tadayoshi passed to Kamakura and Takauji joined the Southern side. These changes materially affected the course of the struggle. Takauji's son, Yoshiaki, acquired so much influence in Kyōto that he was able to bring about the abdication of the Emperor Sukō, of the Northern Line, as well as the deposition of the Heir Apparent. The Southern Dynasty was now invited to return to the capital and the Emperor came as far as Otokoyama, in the vicinity of Kyōto. Takauji had by this time effected the death of Tadayoshi, but Yoshiaki took part against his father, and succeeded in re-occupying Kyōto. The Emperors therefore retired again to Anafu, and the three ex-Emperors of the Northern Dynasty having been placed in confinement, Yoshiaki made Kōgon Sovereign of the Northern Line. Thus discord and dissension prevailed constantly in the Ashikaga Family, generals and warriors repeatedly throwing off their fealty, and some going so far as to join hands with the Southern Dynasty out of motives purely interested.

Meanwhile, Prince Kanenaga, who held the post of Shōgun under the Southern Dynasty, brought the greater part of Kiushū under his sway, and wielded wide influence. Gomurakami, of the Southern Dynasty, died at this time, and was succeeded by his son, Chōkei, who, after a very brief interval, abdicated in favour of his brother, Gokameyama. Meanwhile, Takauji having died in Kyōto, his office was given to his son Yoshiaki and Yoshiaki, in turn, handed over the administrative direction to Yoshimitsu, who became the third Sei-i Taishōgun

of the Ashikaga Family. The fortunes of the Northern Dynasty now improved materially. The Ashikaga troops inflicted a severe defeat on the Southern army in the eastern provinces, and great numbers of the Sourthern Dynasty's adherents surrendered. Its power being thus broken, the Sourthern Dynasty was not averse to entertaining proposals for peace made, in the ninth year of the *Genchū* era (1392 A.D.), by the Shōgun Yoshimitsu. The Southern Sovereign, Gokameyama, handed over the Imperial Insignia to his Northern rival, Gokomatsu, and the two Dynasties being thus united, Gokomatsu ascended the Throne as the hundredth Emperor of Japan.

## CHAPTER III.

## *The Muromachi Epoch.*

### SECTION I.

### *The Administration of the Ashikaga Family.*

The long struggle between the two Dynasties having been brought to an end, peace once more reigned in Kyōto. But in the south and the north tranquillity was not yet restored. Shōni and Kikuchi, powerful nobles of Kiushū, defied the authority of the Governor, Shibukawa Mitsuyori, who held his commission from the Ashikaga, but were finally reduced to subjection by the aid of Ōtomo, Shimadzu, Ōuchi, and other great Barons of the district. In Mutsu and Dewa, also, Date and Ashina took up arms and over-ran the neighbouring provinces. The Shōgun accordingly entrusted to a Governor and an officer called *Kwanryō* the management of all matters in Kiushū and Tōgoku (North-Eastern

province) and took no further thought for them. The Ashikaga potentate received much valuable assistance and advice from Hosokawa Yoriyuki, a noble of conspicuous bravery and wide literary attainments, so that by degrees a stricter system of discipline was introduced, and the fealty of the Shōgun's generals and warriors ceased to be constantly untrustworthy. The administrative institution of the Ashikaga Family were now, for the first time, placed on a well ordered footing. When Takauji conceived the project of establishing an Ashikaga Shōgun, the power, of the Southern Dynasty was at its height, and the tide of battle swept again and again as far as Kyōto itself. Hence the exigencies of the struggle required that Kyōto should be the head-quarters of the Shogunate, and Takauji establishing himself there, entrusted the Government of the Eastern provinces to his son Motouji, who resided at Kamakura holding the office of *Kwanryō*. The Shōgun further despatched a trusted general to Kiushū, and made him Governor there in order to protect that district against the partizans of the Southern Dynasty.

In the fourth year of the *Kembu* era (1339 (A.D.) a body of laws called the *Kembu* Statutes (*Kembu Shikimoku*) was promulgated. The provisions of these Statutes were based on the *Goseibai* laws, a criminal code previously enacted. Further, in conformity with laws framed by the Hōjō Regents, various offices—such as the *Mandokoro*, the *Monchūjo*, the *Samurai-dokoro*, and so forth—were established for the control of matters relating the finance, literature, criminal and civil business. The organization of the office of the Kamakura *Kwanryō* was determined in accordance with the same laws. During the Shogunate of Takauji and Yoshiaki, however, fighting went on continuously, to the

inevitable detriment of the administration of justice and State affairs in general. When, however, the third Ashikaga Shōgun, Yoshimitsu, succeeded to that high office and established himself at Muromachi, an era of peace commenced and the functions of Government began to be discharged with regularity and thoroughness. The office of *Kwanryō* was then declared hereditary in the families of Shiba, Hosokawa, and Hatakeyama, and extensive estates in the neighbourhood of Kyōto were bestowed on these nobles. Yamana, Ishiki, Kyōgoku, Akamatsu, and others, who received the appointment of Wardens of provinces, were also called Lords of Provinces *(Kunimochi-shū)*, and these nobles and their families shared in the administration of the Shogunate in various capacities, as officials of the *Samurai-dokoro*, the *Hyōjō-shū*, and so forth. Special officials were also appointed to superintend the affairs of temples and shrines, as well as matters connected with rewards and foreign trade.

In the first year of the *Ōyei* era (1394 A.D.) Yoshimitsu ceded the Shogunate to his son Yoshimochi and received for himself the appointment of chief Minister of State *(Dajō Daijin)*. After a brief interval, however, he resigned that post also, and having adopted the tonsure, retired nominally from official life, calling himself Tenzan Dōgi. Always prone to luxury, he now gave the reins more freely than ever to his fancy for pomp and splendour. Whenever he moved abroad, he was accompanied by an escort large enough for an ex-Emperor, and such was the magnificence of his mansion at Muromachi and so great the profusion of blossoming trees among which it stood, that men gave to it the name of the Palace of Flowers. After his retirement from official life he established his residence at Kitayama,

building there a three-storied house with timbers and stones of the finest quality which the Wardens and territorial magnates were required to contribute. The columns, doors, alcoves, ceilings, and floors were decorated with gold dust. Nothing could exceed the elegance and splendour of this edifice. The people called it "Kinkaku-ji," or the golden temple, and it stands to this day one of the most interesting relics of ancient Kyōto. On the completion of this gorgeous mansion, Yoshimitsu—or Tenzan Dōgi as he was then called—took up his residence there, and thither all the magnates of State had to repair in order to obtain his sanction for administrative measures. Banquets were often given there on a sumptuous scale, the illustrious host amusing himself and his guests with displays of music and dancing—*Butō*, *Sarugaku*, and *Shirabyōshi*. The example thus set by the ex-Shōgun was readily imitated by the military men of the time, and to support all this luxury, it became necessary to increase the burden of taxation. Yoshimitsu had strong faith in Buddhist doctrines, and devoted large sums to the building of temples. The doctrines of the Zen Sect found special favour with him, and its priests were the recipients of much munificence at his hands. He levied contributions on all the provinces for the purpose of erecting for the sect in Kyōto a temple of unparalleled magnificence called Shōkoku-ji.

Amid the exercise of all this pomp and while the power of the Shōgunate was thus supreme from end to end of the country, the seeds of future misfortune were naturally sown. Not long after the death of Yoshimitsu the country began to fall into disorder. The generals and military partizans of the Southern Dynasty supposed that a return to the system of alternate Succession between the two lines of Jimyō-in

and Daigaku-ji had formed part of the arrangement under which peace was restored and Gokomatsu raised to the Throne. Hence, after the demise of that Sovereign, they looked to see a Prince of the Southern Line assume the Sceptre. But the Shogun's government crowned Shōkō, of the Northern Line. Discontented with this act, Kitabatake Mitsumasa, Warden of Ise, declared war in that province against the Shōgun, and a number of military men in or about Kyōto and in Mutsu raised the standard of revolt. Serious disturbance was averted on that occasion by the Shōgun's promising that a Prince of the Southern Line should be the next Sovereign. The partizans of the latter Dynasty imagined, therefore, that at the death of Shōkō, Prince Ogura, a son of Gokameyama, would come to the Throne, whereas the Ashikaga Family, disregarding the engagement entered into by its chief, again secured the Succession to a Prince of the Northern Dynasty.

TABLE SHOWING CHRONOLOGY AND LINEAGE OF SOVEREIGNS

100th Emperor Gokomatsu (1383-1413 A. D.)
|
101st Emperer Shōkō (1413-1429 A. D.)
|
102nd Emperor Gohanazono (1429-1465 A. D.)
|
103rd Emperor Gotsuchimikado (1465-1501).

The above breach of faith on the part of the Ashikaga Family led to a renewed demonstration by Kitabatake, who, in collusion with the military men at Kamakura, unsheathed the sword in behalf of the son of Prince Ogura. At the same time, Echi Koremichi raised the standard of revolt in Yamato, assisted by the forces at Yoshino and Totsugawa. The Ashikaga Family fought vigorously with these insurgents,

but after a time made peace with them. Subsequent attempts to restore the Southern Line proved equally abortive, and in the end it became extinct without any material success having been achieved in its behalf. Before that end was reached, however, combats and tumults of the most inveterate character devastated the land. The Ashikaga Shōguns found themselves perpetually confronted by disturbance and disaffection. Kusunoki Mitsumasa, for example, formed a plot to destroy the sixth Shōgun, Yoshinori, but fell without accomplishing his purpose. Then again, the remnants of the Southern Dynasty's partizans were seldom unable to find some powerful nobleman to make common cause with them. One, probably the principal, cause of these frequent insurrections, was that the Ashikaga made immense grants of land to their supporters without, at the same time, elaborating some efficient system for the control of the territorial magnates thus created. Many nobles developed such puissance under these circumstances, and acquired command of such vast local resources, that they gave themselves no concern whatever about any government, whether that of Kyōto or that of Muromachi, and sided with whatever party they found most convenient. Personal ambition and individual aggrandisement were too often the ruling motives of the time. No bonds proved strong enough to secure men's union amid these scenes of tumult. Even brothers, as in the time of Takauji and Yoshinori, did not hesitate to belong to opposite camps, nor were other family ties considered more sacred. So soon as a noble became powerful enough to play for his own hand, he did not shrink from doing so. In the days of Yoshimitsu, the third Ashikaga Shōgun, a great territorial magnate, Yamana Ujikiyo, whose estates extended over ten provinces so that men spoke of him as

*Rokubun-ichi-kō* (lord of a sixth of Japan), took up arms against the Ashikaga. So, too, Ōuchi Yoshihiro rebelled because his success in subjugating Kiushū had given him confidence in his own powers. The *Kwanryō* of Kwantō, again, to whom was entrusted the government of the eastern provinces, became so puissant that his influence almost equalled that of the Muromachi Shōgun, who regarded the growth of his relative's power with no little uneasiness. So independent was the attitude of this Kamakura official and so openly did he affect autonomic state, that we find him adopting the procedent of the Muromachi ruler and nominating two of the Uyesugi Family—Yamanouchi and Inugake—to the office of *Kwanryō*. Immense estates were also held by the branch house of Ōgigayatsu Mitsukane, grandson of the first Kamakura *Kwanryō*. Motouji (son of Ashikaga Takauji), carried way apparently by his wealth and strength, supported the insurrection of Ōuchi Yoshihiro, mentioned above, but had no difficulty in making peace with the Muromachi Shōgun on the defeat and downfall of Yoshihiro. Thus feud succeeded feud, and campaign, campaign. Mitsukane, the third Kamakura *Kwanryō*, was succeeded by his son Mochiuji, a man of no capacity. He removed from office Uyesugi Ujinori, who thus became disaffected. It happened at that time that Yoshitsugu, younger brother of Yoshimochi and favourite son of the third Ashikaga Shōgun, Yoshimitsu, was plotting to become Shōgun. Ujinori allied himself with Yoshitsugu, and being secretly assisted by Kitabatake and Nitta, partizans of the Southern Dynasty, took the field in the 23rd year of the *Ōyei* era (1416 A.D.). Under pretence of orders from the Muromachi Shōgun, he dismissed Mochiuji from the head of the Kamakura Administration and replaced him by his younger brother, Mochinaka. A conflict ensued be-

tween these insurgents and the troops of the Shōgun Yoshimochi, the issue being that Mochinaka and Ujinori committed suicide and Yoshitsugu was killed. Just as in the first generation of the Ashikaga potentates, Takauji and his brother Tadayoshi were arrayed against each other, so in the fourth generation we find the brothers Yoshimochi and Yoshitsugu engaged in strife. In short, wealth and strength had become the only guiding principles in this era of perpetual battle and bloodshed. The histories of the Taira, of the Minamoto, of the Hōjō, and of the Ashikaga, had insensibly established the creed that a prize scarcely inferior to the Sceptre itself lay within reach of any noble whose territorial influence and military puissance enabled him to grasp it.

On the death of the fourth Ashikaga Shōgun, Yoshimochi, there was no heir in the direct line to succeed him, his son Yoshikazu having died in childhood. Under these circumstances the *Kwanryō*, in compliance with the testament of the deceased potentate, proceeded to the Shrine of Iwashimizu, and having obtained the guidance of heaven by means of divining sticks, announced that Giyen, younger brother of Yoshimochi, should succeed to the Shogunate. Giyen was a Bonze, but he now abandoned the priesthood, and became Shōgun under the name of Yoshinori. The Kamakura Administrator, Mochiuji, who had coveted the office of Shōgun for himself, was much chagrined at its falling to Yoshinori. He spoke of the latter publicly as the "apostate-priest Shōgun," and made preparations to attack Kyōto. Uyesugi Norizane, who then held the post of *Kwanryō* at Kamakura, sought to dissuade Mochiuji from this project, but his counsels were rejected, and a rupture finally arising

between the two, Mochiuji turned his arms against Norizane. When the news of these things reached the Shōgun, he sought and obtained the Emperor's mandate to march against Kwantō. Two armies were organized for the purpose, their routes of approach being Hakone and Ashigara, respectively. Before they reached Kamakura, however, Norizane had inflicted a signal defeat on Mochiuji, and the latter had committed suicide, the powerful Yūki Family carrying off his two sons to the castle of Koga in Shimōsa, where they defied the Shōgun's forces. Victory rested, however, with the invading army. The castle was demolished, and the two children were seized and put to death, the House of Motouji thus becoming extinct, while to the Family of Uyesugi was entrusted the sole administrative control in the eastern provinces.

Yoshinori was bold in action and of sound judgment. He possessed the faculty of controlling the most fractious vassals. After having defeated the Kamakura insurgents, he brought the remaining adherents of the Southern Dynasty into subjection, and caused Ōuchi to undertake successful campaigns against the Kiushū rebels, Shōni, Ōtomo, and Kikuchi. His administration did much to raise the prestige and widen the power of the Shogunate. On the other hand, he was vain and profligate, and treated his generals and *Samurai* with contempt. An object of his constant dislike was Akamatsu Mitsusuke, whom he ridiculed because of his short stature and upon whom he put many sleights. This Mitsusuke was the grandson of Akamatsu Norimura, who, in consideration of conspicuous services rendered to the Ashikaga in the days of Takauji, had received, and bequeathed to his children, broad estates. The Shōgun's dislike for Mitsusuke was exceeded

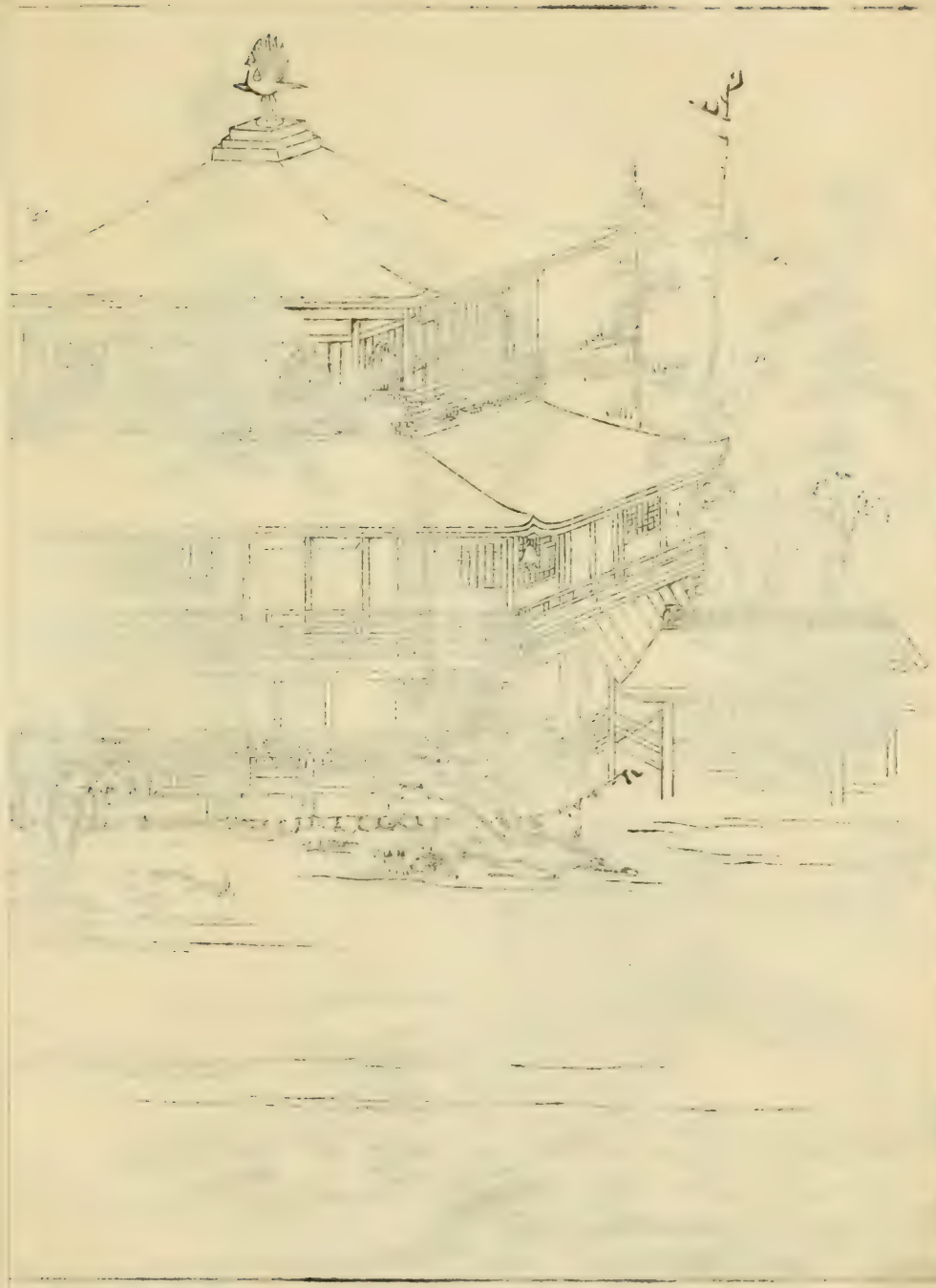
only by his affection for a relative of the latter, Sadamura. He would fain have deprived Mitsusuke of his domains in the three provinces of Bizen, Harima, and Mimasaku, in order to bestow them on Sadamura. Mitsusuke was indignant at the notion of such confiscation in the absence of any misdeed to justify it. In June of the first year of the *Kakitsu* ere (1441 A.D.), he invited the Shōgun to his mansion, where a splendid banquet was spread and a new kind of dancing was displayed. While the entertainment was in progress, Mitsusuke killed and decapitated Yoshinori, set fire to the house, and carrying with him the head of the Shōgun, fled to Harima. Thereafter Yoshikazu, eldest son of Yoshinori was proclaimed Shōgun by the *Kwanryō*. Hosokawa Mochiyuki and Yamana Mochitoyo, having received the Emperor's mandate, marched against Mitsusuke, destroyed his castle of Shirahata and killed him. Yoshikazu commissioned Mochitoyo to govern the three provinces over which Mitsusuke had ruled, and the Akamatsu Family was exterminated.

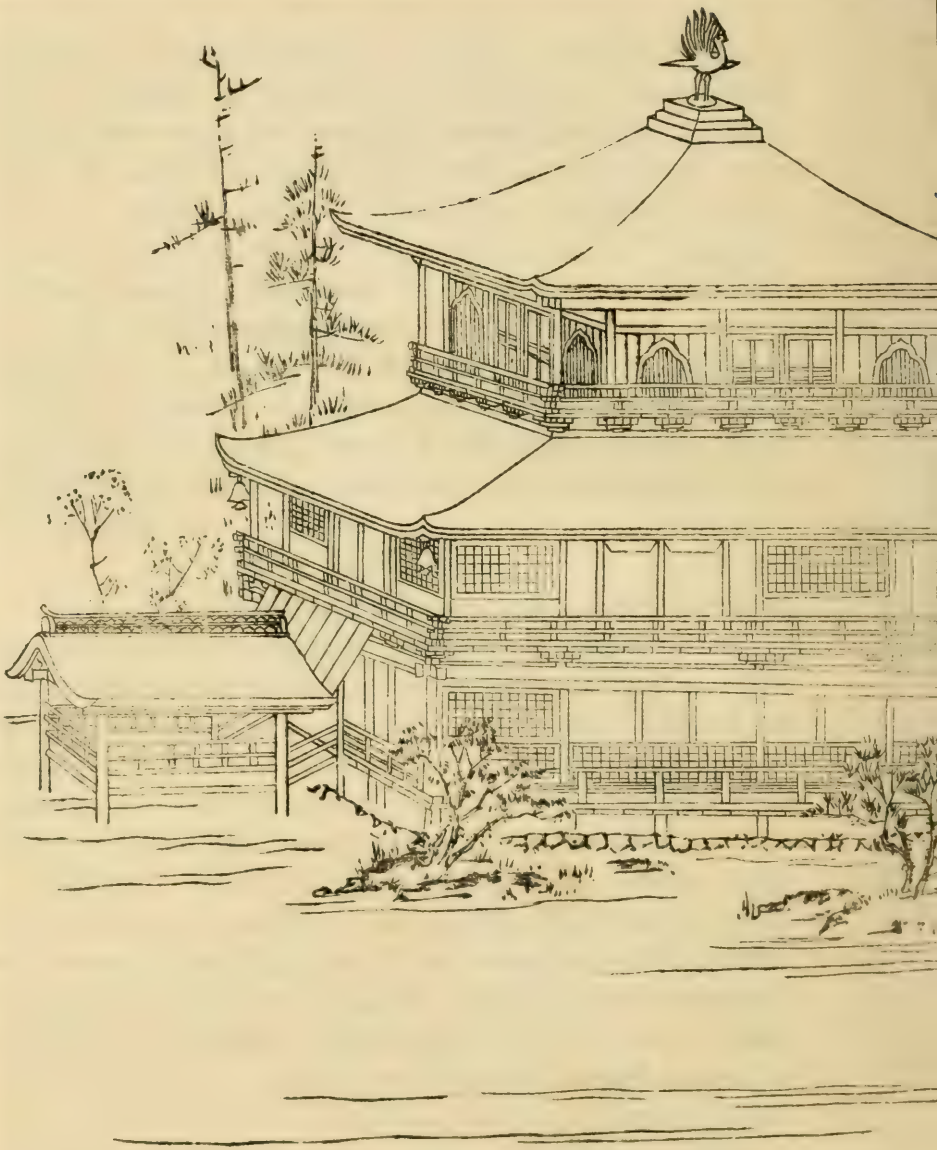
Yoshikazu died in childhood and was succeeded in the Shogunate by his younger brother Yoshimasa, who thus became the eighth Ashikaga Shōgun, the *Kwanryō*, Hatakeyama Mochikuni, being entrusted with the administration of affairs and showing great zeal in the service of the Shōgunate. As Yoshimasa grew older he gave himself up to sensual excesses, and paid no attention to business of State, leaving everything in the hands of favourite officers. Thus by degrees disaffection began to appear among his generals and *Samurai*. Moreover, the two *Kwanryō*, Hatakeyama and Shiba, ceased to work harmoniously and engaged in competition for the possession of power. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, the partizans of the

Southern Dynasty once more raised their heads and Kyōto again witnessed scenes of disorder, while Mochiuji's party renewed their opposition in the Kwantō and the rebellion of the Shōni Family still continued in the West. Yoshimasa, nevertheless, continued his life of extravagance, devoting great sums to the gratification of his pleasures and to the building of a magnificent mansion. Careless of the dilapidated condition of the capital, Kyōto, he caused the celebrated pavilion Ginkakuji to be constructed at Higashiyama, covering the doors, walls, and ceilings with dust of silver in order to rival the golden pavilion (Kinkaku-ji) at Kitayama. In this new building he brought together rare paintings and costly objects of virtue, Chinese and Japanese, and there also, in chambers specially planned for the purpose, he inaugurated the tea ceremonial *(Cha-no-yu)*, afterwards so fashionable in Japan, devoting his days to the practice of effeminate dilettanteism. His official duties received no manner of attention, and by degrees his financial circumstances became so straitened that, finding it impossible to procure money for the indulgence of his whims, he began to lay heavy imposts on the people of the provinces and on the merchants of Kyōto especially, who were taxed five or six times in the course of the year. Under these circumstances, great discontent prevailed and riots occurred, the poor breaking into the houses of the wealthy, and destroying all certificates of debt that were found there, by which means the Shōgun himself was simultaneously relieved of his monetary obligations. To this device, endorsed in effect, as it was, by the authorities, the people gave the name of *Tokusei*, or the government of virtue, and Yoshimasa found it altogether to his taste since it extricated him from many of his financial embarrassments. The Shōgun did not even shrink from the

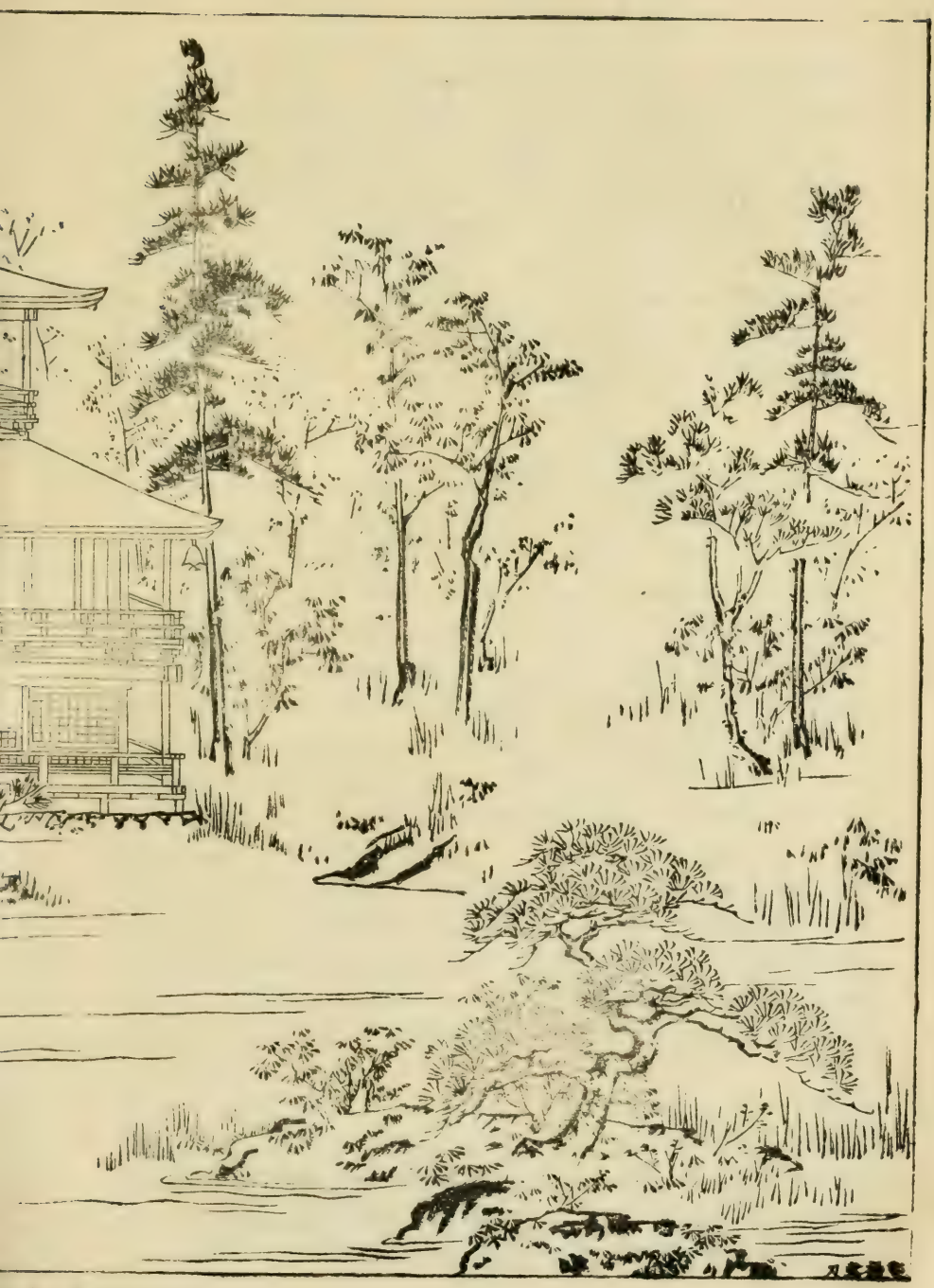
resource of sending envoys to China with instructions to prefer requests for money to the Chinese Government, and the latter were not unwilling thus to purchase immunity from the raids to which their ports were exposed at the hands of Kiushū pirates. Thus under the administration of Yoshimasa the power and prestige of the Shogunate declined sensibly; the affairs of State fell into confusion; the most cruel mandates were frequently issued; customs opposed to the dictates of humanity and the principles of morality prevailed; the *Kwanryō*, following the Shōgun's example, subserved the duties of their office to selfish ends, and finally this hopeless misgovernment culminated in the *Ōnin* rebellion.

The proximate causes of the *Ōnin* conflict are to be sought in personal ambition. Yoshimasa, weary of official duties, determined to entrust to his younger brother, Gijin, the task of administering affairs. Gijin had entered the priesthood. He was not averse, however, to fall in with Yoshimasa's plan on condition that in the event of a child being born to the latter, it should be devoted to a life of religion. This compact having been made, Gijin abandoned the priesthood, and taking the name of Yoshimi, assumed the direction of the affairs of the Shogunate, Hosokawa Katsumoto acting as controller of his household. By and by, however, Yoshimasa's wife bore a son, Yoshihisa, and being ambitious that her child should succeed to the Shogunate instead of retiring to the cloister, she took into her confidence Yamana Sōzen, a nobleman possessing domains as ample and power as extensive as Hosokawa Katsumoto himself, the idea of the confederates being to contrive the abdication of Yoshimi. A parallel conjuncture occurred in the family of Hatakeyama Mochikuni, the





The Buddhist



mple Kinkakuji.



*Kwanryō*. Having no son, he nominated his nephew Masanaga to succeed him, but on the subsequent birth of his son Yoshinari, he resolved to deprive Masanaga of the distinction. Further, the vassals of the other *Kwanyrō*, Shiba, became split up into two parties, one espousing the cause of Yoshikado, the other that of Yoshitoshi. Hence Yoshikado and Yoshinari allied themselves with Yamana Sōzen, and Masanaga and Yoshitoshi were supported by Hosokawa Katsumoto. The enmity between these rival factions gradually deepened.

In the first year or the *Ōnin* era (1467 A.D.) Yamana Sōzen attempted to remove Hatakeyama Masanaga from the office of *Kwanryō*, and to replace him by Yoshinari, at the same time expelling the partizans of Katsumoto from the Hatakeyama House. A collision ensused between the parties of Masanaga and Yoshinari in Kyōto, and the Shōgun Yoshimasa gave orders that they should settle their dispute by a combat, the guards attached to them alone taking part in the duel. Yamana Sōzen, however, contrived secretly to render aid to Yoshinari so that Masanaga suffered defeat. This result caused much chagrin to Hosokaya Katsumoto, who considered that his honour was tarnished by his failure to assist Masanaga. He therefore privately assembled all his troops and partizans, to the number of about a hundred thousand, and posting them to east of Muromachi, guarded the residence of Yoshimasa. Sōzen, on his side, mustered a force of some ninety thousand, and encamped on the west of Muromachi. Then commenced a long series of fights in which victory nearly always rested with Katsumoto's side. Katsumoto had the countenance of the retired Shōgun, Yoshimasa, and also procured the recognition of the Emperor and ex-Emperor,

while Sōzen, taking advantage of the strained relations between Yoshimasa and his successor Yoshimi, invited the latter to join him, and also obtained the support of the former partizans of the Southern Dynasty by declaring in favour of the grandson of Prince Ogura. Combats occurred every day, and were accompanied by numerous conflagrations. The citizens of Kyōto fled from the city carrying with them their old and their young, and the streets were left desolate. In the fifth year of the *Bummei* era (1470 A.D.) Sōzen and Katsumoto both died, but their parties continued to fight as fiercely as ever. Not untill the ninth year of that era (1477 A.D.), when Yoshimi had escaped to Mino, did the generals abandon the campaign and retire to their castles. Kyōto had then been a battle-field for over eleven years, and during the course of the fierce fighting, the Imperial Palace, the mansions of the noble, the residences and warehouses of the people, and many of the largest temples, as Tenriu-ji Shōkoku-ji, and so forth, had been burned to the ground, many books and documents transmitted from ancient times and many invaluable heirlooms and works of art being destroyed at the same time. In truth, the once splendid city was reduced, after this war, to a state of desolation and ruin. The military and civilian classes alike were plunged in poverty. The laws were not operative. The administration of justice was in disorder. The territorial magnates in the provinces discontinued the payment of taxes, closed their districts against communication from without, and governed according to their own will. The mandates of the Sovereign commanded no respect.

SECTION II.

## *Foreign Intercourse.*

After the repulse of Kublai Khan's invasion in the *Kōan* era, the Sovereign and people of China conceived sufficient respect for the prowess of the Japanese to refrain from any renewed onset. The Bonzes of the two empires alone continued to hold free intercourse. But when the long struggle between the Northern and Southern Dynasties brought about its inevitable financial result, and the country began to feel impoverished, the great provincial nobles sought to replenish their exchequers by engaging in trade with China and Korea. When Takauji built the temple Tenriu-ji, in the third year of the *Kōkoku* era (1342 A.D.), his brother Tadayoshi despatched a priest called Soseki to China to procure some of the furniture of the temple from that country. The custom of officially recognised trading with China came into vogue from that time, restrictions being imposed on the number of ships engaged and the amount of capital involved. The vessels thus employed were called "*Tenriuji-bune*," in allution to the origin of the commerce. About this time the Japanese living on the south-western coasts began to make raids upon the sea-side towns of China and Korea, taking advantage of the internal dissensions then prevailing in those countries. The Japanese raiders were aided by Chinese insurgents, and entered the districts of Shantung, Fohkien, and Sikkong, burning towns there and putting the inhabitants to the sword. In China the name of "Wakō" was given to these pirates and they were greatly dreaded. In the twenty-third year of the *Shōhei* era (1368 A.D.), a change of dynasty occurred in China, the country passing under the rule of the *Ming*. Next year, the Chinese Government sent an envoy to Chinzei-fu in

Japan, urging that steps be taken to prevent the raids of Japanese pirates into Chinese territory, but as the despatch was couched in haughty terms, Japan made no reply. In the following year, the *Ming* Sovereign despatched another envoy, Chao Chih, bearer of an Imperial letter, which was delivered to the local authorities in Kiushū. This Ambassador was received in audience by Prince Kanenaga, of the Southern Dynasty, the request embodied in his despatches was granted, and he was sent back to China, in company with a Bonze called Sorai, various gifts of books and armour being transmitted to China at the same time. The *Ming* Emperor, much pleased with these presents, sent in return a quantity of rich brocade. But despite these interchanges of courtesy pirates continued their raids as before. The Chinese having now learned that there were two dynasties in Japan, the Southern and the Northern, sent, in the second year of the *Bunchū* era (1373 A.D.), two priests, Sotan and Kokukin, with a message to the Lord Abbot of the Tendai Sect, requesting him to procure for them audience of the Emperor of the *Jimyō-in* Line on the subject of the piratical raids. The two priest proceeded to Kyōto and were there received by the third Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimitsu, who treated them with much consideration. In the first year of the *Genchū* era (1384 A.D.) Prince Kanenaga of the Southern Dynasty despatched an envoy to China, and this messenger entered into a plot, in collusion with one of the Chinese Ministers, Hu Weiyung (Ko-iyo), to assassinate the father of the Chinese Emperor. The plot was discovered, and its intended victim, justly incensed, would have sent an expedition against Japan had he not recalled the ill success attending the Chinese arms in previous conflicts with the Japanese. He therefore con-

tended himself with the issue of an edict forbidding all further intercourse with the Japanese. Stringent measures were at the same time taken for the defence of the coasts.

Korea also had suffered severely from the attacks of Japanese pirates. The inhabitants of the south-west coasts of Japan made raids into Kyōsai, Gōho, and Junten-fu in the Korean peninsula, engaging in open conflict with the Korean troops, killing their generals, destroying their barracks, and plundering houses, ships, and grain-stores. In these encounters the army of Korea showed much lack of courage, frequently retreating before the Japanese raiders without striking a blow. In the twenty-second year of the *Shōhei* era (1367 A.D.), the King of Korea sent an envoy to Japan, requesting that measures should be adopted to repress the pirates. But the Japanese Government taking no notice of the appeal, the King of Korea himself attacked the raiders and suffered defeat at their hands. Again, in the first year of the *Tenju* era (1375), the King despatched another envoy to Japan, bearer of various gifts, with the object of establishing relations of amity. But Yoshimitsu declined to entertain the proposal on the ground that Japan was still in a disordered condition. Thereafter the pirates plundered Korea with constantly increasing audacity, until at last they took Kōshū and Zenshū and over-ran the districts of Shinshū, Rashū, Utshū, and so forth. In 1377 A.D., Korea sent another envoy with whom, on his departure from Japan, Imagawa Sadayo, Governor of Kiushū, returned to their country several hundreds of Koreans who had been taken prisoners by the Japanese pirates and brought to Japan. No check was put, however, on the inroads of the pirates. They raided district after district of the Korean peninsula, and showed such bold-

ness that the King of the country adopted special measures to protect the capital against possible attack. In the first year of the *Genchū* era (1392 A.D.), Li Seikei, a Korean General who had been commissioned to beat back the Japanese, raised the standard of revolt and usurped the Sovereignty, changing the name of the country from Kōrai to Chōsen. He despatched an envoy to Japan, seeking to establish amicable relations, and the Shōgun Yoshimitsu ordered Ōuchi, Governor of Kiushū, to treat the delegate with all courtesy. Thereafter Japan often asked for books of various kinds and Buddhist manuscripts, and the Koreans showed the utmost goodwill in acceding these requisitions. Nevertheless the littoral population of Japan did not desist from raiding the Korean coasts. After the combination of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the ex-Shōgun Yoshimitsu frequently sent envoys to China, and on several occasions caused the pirates to be arrested and handed over to the Chinese. The Chinese Emperor was much pleased at this action. In the eleventh year of the *Ōyei* era (1404 A.D.), he sent to Japan a hundred tickets *(Kangō)* of the nature of passports, and from that time, once in every ten years, gifts were forwarded from China in a fixed number of ships with a fixed *personnel*, the articles sent being head-gear, garments, brocade, gold, antiquities, and old pictures. An Imperial commission of investiture was also sent. When Yoshimitsu died, the Ming Sovereign despatched an envoy to confer on the deceased Shōgun the posthumous title of *Kyōken-ō* (the King Kyōken) and to offer various gifts. The Shōgun Yoshimochi, however, politely but emphatically declined to receive these marks of favour, and the incident terminated the official intercourse between Japan and China.

In the twenty-sixth year of the *Ōyei* era (1419 A.D.) a flotilla of thirteen hundred ships of war from Mongolia, Korea, and Namban (the countries south of China) appeared off Tsushima, but the Kiushū barons, headed by the Sō and the Shibukawa Families, who held the office of governor of Kiushū, beat off the invaders and slaughtered an immense number of them. Thenceforth Korea held Japan in awe and made no attempts against her. In the third year of the *Kakitsu* era (1440 A.D.), the Korean Government established amicable relations with the Sō Family, sent presents of valuable books and opened commercial intercourse. The same year another Chinese envoy arrived with despatches demanding, in a peremptory tone, the establishment of amity between the two empires, but the Shōgun Yoshimochi declined to entertain the proposal. In the time of the Shōgun Yoshinori, however, official intercourse with China was reopened, the Emperor sending to Japan two hundred tickets in the nature of passports which were placed by the Shogunate in the charge of the Ōuchi Family. The Sō Family was then appointed to control the trade with Korea, that with China being entrusted to Ōuchi. In the days of the Shōgun Yoshimasa intercourse with China received considerable development, and parcels of books as well as quantities of copper coin were frequently forwarded to Japan at her request. The Min Sovereigns always complied with Japan's wishes in these matters, but considerable irregularities occurred in the trade between the two nations owing to selfish disregard of the regulations issued for its control. Moreover, Japanese from Kiushū and other places crossed over to China carrying with them not only legitimate articles of trade but also implements of war. They pretended that the latter were gifts from the Japanese Government to China, but they did not hesitate

to use them for purposes of intimidation when they found an opportunity to plunder the Chinese. In the third year of the *Daiyei* era (1523 A.D.), two envoys sent by the Ōuchi Family on behalf of the Shōgun's Government proceeded to China, and there became involved in a dispute as to their representative capacities. The envoy sent from the Shōgun's Government finally met his death in China. Further, in the closing years of the Ashikaga Shogunate, outlaws from Kiushū entered China and Korea in constantly increasing numbers for purposes of plunder, the provinces on the Chinese littoral sustaining great injury at the hands of these marauders. On the flags of the Japanese piratical ships were inscribed the ideographs "*Hachiman-gū*" (Hachiman, the God of War). The Chinese consequently termed these vessels "Papan-sen" ("Papan" is the Chinese pronunciation of "Hachiman"), and regarded them with the greatest apprehension. With these marauders Chinese pirates were associated, and the people of China suffered so much from their raids that the Emperor deputed two of his principal general to attack and destroy the raiders, but the task could not be successfully accomplished. From Korea, too, came a request to the Sō Family that they would restrain the Japanese from further incursions into the peninsula, but the head of the Family paid no heed, and the result was that the Koreans treated with great cruelty a number of the inhabitants of Tsushima who happened to be sojourning in the peninsula. This procedure so enraged the people of Tsushima that they attack Fusan in force, and having destroyed its fortifications, returned unmolested to Tsushima, which event happened in the seventh year of the *Eishō* era (1510 A.D.). After this, the pillage of the Korean coast towns by Japanese pirates continued without intermission.

On the fall of the Ashikaga Shogunate and the death of Nobunaga at the hands of one of his own vassals. Hideyoshi, the *Taikō*, obtained control of the whole empire, and finally declared war with Korea, sending thither a large expedition to which reference will be made hereafter.

Towards the close of the Ashikaga Shōgunate, Japan entered into tradal relations with the Portuguese. Merchantmen of Portugal arrived for the first time at the island of Tanegashima off the coast of Ōsumi in the tenth year of the *Tenmon* era (1541 A.D.). They subsequently visited Kagoshima, and thence proceded to Bungo, where their captains concluded with the nobleman Ōtomo Sōrin a convention opening commercial intercourse. Thenceforth Portuguese vessels often came to the provinces of Kiushū for purposes of trade, the people competing with each other to purchase the rare and valuable articles offered by the strangers. Fire-arms were then introduced for the first time into Japan, and the military class, fully appreciating the advantage of such a weapon, set themselves eagerly to learn the method of handing and manufacturing it.

In the seventeenth year of the *Tenmon* era (1548 A.D.), Francis Xavier, a Jesuit missionary, together with two disciple, arrived at Kagoshima, and by permission of the Shimazu Family, began to preach Chistianity throughout the provinces of Kiushū. This was the first time since the introduction of Buddhism that the tenets of a foreign religion were laid before the Japanese people. The alien creed soon began to spread in Kiushū, in the neighbourhood of Kyōto, and afterwards in Kwantō, Ōshū, and Dewa. Its most numerous converts were in Kiushū, where the people built chapels for the purpose of Chistian worship. The

great noble Ōtomo Sōrin was an earnest beliver, and Ouchi Yoshitaka as well as the Shōgun Yoshiteru were also converts. So successful was Christian propagandism in those early days, that in the ninth year of the *Tenshō* era (1581 A.D.) the Ōmura and Arima Families of Hizen sent envoys to Rome with letters and articles of Japanese production for presentation to the Pope.

SECTION. III.

## *Literature of the Ashikaga Dynasty.*

The Ashikaga Family having usurped the administrative power by violence, their tenure of it was marked by scenes of disorder, frequent disaffection on the part of their generals and insurrections among their military followers producing an era of disturbance which finally developed, as we have seen, into the fierce conflict of the *Ōnin* era. During this period of fighting and confusion, great destruction of property necessarily occurred. Mansions of nobles, storehouses of merchants, offices of the Government, and libraries of the State as well as of private individuals, were reduced to ashes. Men of conspicuous valour asserted their independence of law and fought for their own hand. Disorder prevailed everywhere, and not a day passed that did not witness some catastrophe. Lord and liege alike, when they grew weary of fighting, devoted themselves to exercises of equestrianism or archery, and the study of books received no attention from private individuals, so that literture fell into a general state of the utmost neglect and decline. Nevertheless, during the period when the Southern and Northern Dynasties ruled simultaneously men still cared for literery pursuits. The Emperor Godaigo invited students

of note to his Court, and in conjunction with them studied the Chinese classics and history. Ashikaga Takauji and his brother Tadayoshi also patronized learning. In those days the study of books had, for the most part, been relegated to priestly circles. A bonze named Genye enjoyed the reputation of being a great literati and also a poet of no mean order. Thoroughly versed in the Classics, history and laws of China, he was the first to make known to the Japanese nation the Commentaries of Shu Ki.

Other men noted for learning were Soseki and Shiren. The former, possessing a thorough knowledge of the tenets of the Zen Sect and their basis, was the founder of the great temple Tenriuji, and the latter compiled and published a celebrated work, the *Genkō-shaku-sho*, a kind of Buddhist history. But to the *Jinkōshōtō-ki* of Kitabatake Chikafusa, a noble as skilled with his pen as with his sword, and to the *Taihei-ki* of a priest named Kojima, belong the distinctive title of models of literature during the epoch of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. In the section of essays, the *Tsure-zure-gusa*, by Urabe Kenkō, deserves special mention.

Kitabatake Chikafusa's name has appeared in a previous section. It was while the tumult of unceasing war was at its height that he published his work, the *Jinkōshōtō-ki*. It contained an elaborate and lucid argument about the Imperial genealogy and the Three Insignia, and its perusal produced a most inspiriting effect upon the troops of the Southern Dynasty. The gallant author's style is serious and solid, and his reasoning is close and accurate, so that his work has proved of great value to compilers of history. He compiled another work also, the *Shokugen-shō*.

The *Taiheki-ki* of Kojima comprises an account of all the principal events from the *Genkō* war to the commencement of the Ashikaga Administration. Its facts are open to much criticism, but its style is easy and flowing, and its reflects the life of the time with much accuracy. Interwoven throughout the text are many references to points of Japanese and Chinese ancient history and many subtle expositions of Buddhist doctrine. It was published anonymously, but careful investigation revealed the fact that the Bonze Kojima had compiled it. The contents of this work indicate a writer of exceptional erudition.

The *Tsure-zure-gusa* was from the pen of the priest Kenkō. He set down in its pages not only what he saw or heard, but also what he himself felt. It is in truth what its name indicates, an outcome of idle moments. In style it resembles the work of earlier authors, but Chinese and Japanese expressions are mingled in the text, and many passages occur of great beauty and verve. Kenkō, in this well-known work, gives his readers a skilful insight into the Japan and China of antiquity, familiarizes them with the views of Confucius and Mencius, and inculcates the tenets of the Buddhist faith, reasoning tho whole with wit and humour. The work holds high rank among Japanese literary compositions in respect alike of its conception and of its tone.

Coming down to the period of the Muromachi Shogunate, it may be said that the most noteworthy compilations were those of Ichijō Kanenaga and his son Fuyunaga.

Despite the disturbance and disorder incidental to the strife between the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the

cultivation of Japanese poetry continued to prosper. The Emperor Hanazono himself compiled a work called *Fūga-shū;* Fujiwara Tamesada published the *Shinsenzai-shū*, and Fujiwara Tameaki and the priest Ton-a were joint authors of the *Shinshūi-shū*, while the epoch produced also such works as the *Shingoshūi-shū* and the *Shinzokukokin-shū*. All the poetical works that had appeared from the *Kokinshū* of Ki-no-Tsurayuki to the Ashikaga times were included in the term *Nijūichidai-shū*. Japanese poetry now entered upon a period of decline. No poetical works of any note appeared, though in private circles the art continued to be practised. Among the disciples of Buddhism and the devotees of arms many students of poesy existed, and to the Ashikaga era is attributable the prevalence of a style of versification called "*Renka*."

From the days of the Muromachi Shogunate there dates also a kind of composition called, *Yōkyoku*, or romanza. This had its origin in the *Ōyei* era (1394-1427 A.D.) when Kwanami and his son Seami collated the dances long in vogue, called *Sarugaku* and *Dengaku*, supplementing the music and elaborating the libretto. The *Yōkyoku* then came into existence, but its author has not been identified. It was a compound of Chinese and Japanese poetry intermingled with contemporary colloquialism, the whole skilfully woven into consecutive verse. The subjects were taken from history, from mythology, from tradition, from Buddhist lore, and the aids of rhetoric and literary ornamentation were abundantly used to heighten the effect. There was a large admixture of religious doctrine, and in many places the uncertainty of human life and the relations of the present to the future existence were inculcated, while the resources of ancient Chinese and Japanese erudition

were freely enlisted. These features of the work have been interpreted as indicating that its author was a priest.

Such were the principal literary productions during the epoch of the Muromachi Shogunate. When we turn to consider the conditions under which education was conducted at the time, we find that the disorder and tumult of the era were fatal to the prosperous existence of any school. There was, however, in Shimotsuke an institution called "Ashikaga-gakkō" (the Ashikaga School), which is said to have been established by Ono-no-Takamura, and to have been a place for giving instruction in Japanese literature. This institution was closed for a time, but in the eleventh year of the *Eikyō* era (1438 A.D.), it was re-opened by Uyesugi Norizane, the *Kwanryō* of Kwantō, who endowed it liberally with land and engaged men of learning to act as teachers there. Books had been obtained from China in previous times, and the school possessed volumes such as could no longer be found in China itself without difficulty.

In Kanazawa also there was a valuable library called the "Kanazawa Bunko," which had been established by Hōjō Sanetoki, during the period of the Hōjō rule. Its founder had spared no pains to furnish it with valuable Chinese and Japanese books, and had encouraged his family to devote themselves to the study of literature. In the mid-period of the Muromachi Shogunate, Ōta Dōkan enlarged the organization of this library; and at a later era of the same rule Ōuchi Yoshitaka purchased many books from China and himself set the example of close studentship. Moreover he sent Japanese paper to China for the purpose of having books printed on it. Still more

solid services to the cause of literature were rendered, however, by the priests in Hiei-zan and Nara, and the five principal Buddhist temples of Kyōto. Buddhist priests, on the whole, have contributed materially to the progress of literature in Japan, and especially during the period of the Muromachi Shogunate. The Ashikaga Family in every generation were devout believers in Buddhism, and paid great respect to its representatives. Thus patronized, the priests were in a position to exercise considerable influence. Communication with China was conducted chiefly by them, notably after the renewal of official intercourse between the two empires, when they established very close relations with the neighbouring nation, and so successfully utilized their opportunities for acquiring knowledge, that numbers of men of wide erudition appeared in their ranks. Among them may be mentioned, as stated above, Shiren, Genye, Soseki, Myōchō, and others. In the days of Yoshimasa, a priest named Seikei supplemented the work of Genye in familiarizing Japanese scholars with the annotations of the Chinese classics by Teishi and Shu Ki, and Chinese literature of the Sung Dynasty found many students in the country. The priests, in short, were conspicuously instrumental in preserving and developing Japanese literature, and it may be added that their services in the cause of fine art were not less marked.

## SECTION IV.

### *Industry and Fine Arts.*

Despite the fact that, as stated in the previous Section, many scholars of note flourished during the epoch of the Ashikaga Shogunate, the nation at large was too much en-

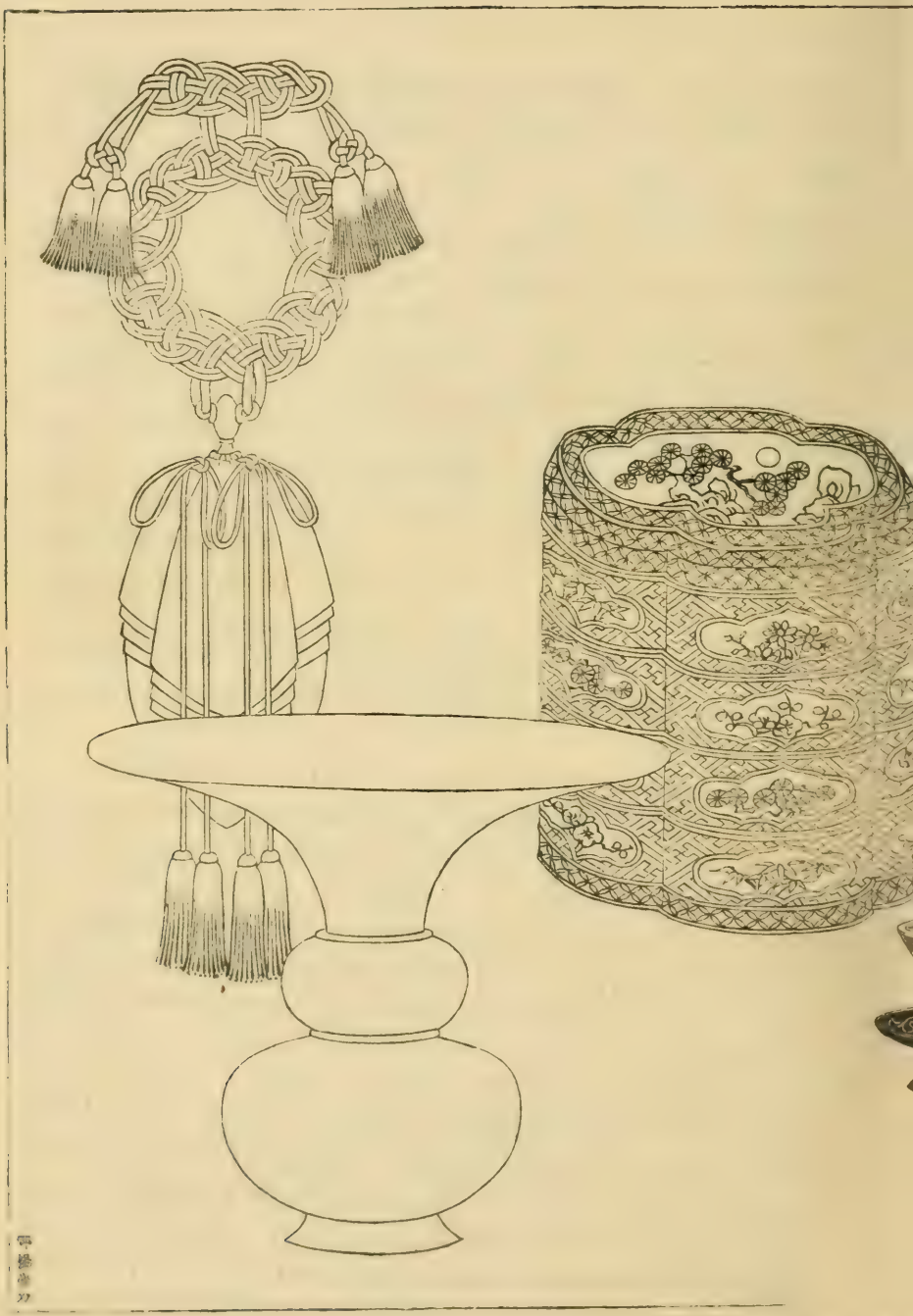
grossed in the business of war to pay serious attention to literature, and among the *Samurai* numbers were to be found almost entirely without erudition. In short, literature must be said to have suffered great neglect as compared with the attention bestowed on it in earlier ages. But the contrary is true of the fine arts. During the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties many Japanese priests travelled to China for the purpose of studying the books and paintings of the *Sung* and *Yuan* Dynasties. Moreover, from the time of Yoshimitsu, and especially in the days of Yoshimasa, a general tendency prevailed to refined pleasure and artistic display of all kinds, so that objects of virtu and paintings by the old masters were enthusiastically admired and sought after. Under such circumstances art industry naturally made great progress in Kyōto. Imperial patronage was extended to painters, an office being established in the Court, under the name of *Edokoro*, where affairs relating to pictorial art were controlled. During the reign of Gotsuchimikado the great painter Tosa Mitsunobu, founder of the Tosa School, flourished. His style was elaborate, his use of colours skilful and striking, and his brushwork showed great delicacy and boldness combined. Previously to his time, Chinese paintings of the *Sung* masters, distinguished by refined simplicity of conception and execution, had stood very high in Japanese estimation, their vogue being increased by the wide-spread popularity of the Zen Sect of Buddhism, which had been brought from China to Japan during the era of the *Sung* sovereigns. People's taste had been educated to prefer simple water-colour sketches to the more showy and laboured productions of the Yamato School. A priest named Kaō was the first to introduce into Japan the methods of the Sung masters. He painted figure subjects, Buddhas, Arhats, and so forth,

adopting the colouring methods of Ngan Hwai (Ganki), and the soft sketchy style of Muh Ki (Bokkei). The sacred figures of Myōtaku, the birds and flowers of Dompō, and the landscapes of Tesshū were not less remarkable. During the *Ōyei* era (1394-1427 A.D.), three celebrated painters, Myōchō, Josetsu, and Shūbun, flourished. Myōchō's second art name was Chōdensu. His skill in painting figure subjects, Buddhas, Rishi, Arhats, and so forth, was most remarkable. His pictures were generally of large size and the few that remain are immensely prized. Josetsu took for his models the masters of the *Sung* and *Yuan* Dynasties, and developed great skill in depicting figure subjects, landscapes, birds, and flowers. Shūbun was a pupil of Josetsu. His favourite subjects were those of his master, and he excelled in lightly tinted water-colours. Among his pupils were the renowned artists Oguri Sōtan, Soga Dasoku, Sesshū, the priest Shōkei, and others. Sōtan painted landscapes of the most charming and faithful character, and was also great in figure subjects, birds, and flowers. Dasoku was conspicuous for the boldness and strength of his touch. Shōkei, who is often called Keishoki, was famous for his pictures of sacred figures and landscapes, and Sesshū excelled even his master in the directness of his methods, the sentiment of his pictures, and the delicacy of his execution. During the *Kansei* era (1460-1465), he crossed to China in order to study the landscapes and foliage of that country. The journey added to his fame, for in the neighbouring empire he found no peer, and the Emperor of China as well as the people paid him great honour. At the beginning of the reign of Gotsuchimikado, Sesshū returned to Japan and took up his residence at the temple Unkoku-ji in Yamaguchi of Suwō. He supplemented his master's methods by a style of his own called "*Unkoku-ha*." Sesshū has had few

equals in the art of depicting landscapes, figures, floral subjects, dragons, and tigers. Students of his style were Sesson, Sōyen, and Tōkan (called also Shugetsu), all artists of note. A contemporary of Sesshū, Kanō Ōinosuke, was taken under the special patronage of the Shōgun Yoshinori, and his son, Kanō Masanobu, who had studied under Oguri Sōtan, was employed in the decoration of the Golden Pavilion, where, by order of the ex-Shōgun Yoshimasa, he painted the Eight Siao-siong Views. His eldest son, Kohōgen Motonobu, was the auther of a new style based on the Yamato school of Nobuzane and the methods of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties. His colours were applied with the greatest feeling and delicacy, and the facility and force of his brush were evidenced by noble paintings of landscapes, figure subjects, and foliage. He was the ancestor of the Kanō Family, and his son Shōyei and grandson Eitoku worked on his lines with conspicuous success.

Sculpture and the Keramic industry made progress not less remarkable than that of painting during the Muromachi epoch. Muneyasu of the Myōchin Family stood at the head of workers in metal. He made for the Shōgun Yoshimitsu a helmet of extraordinary beauty. A helmet equally remarkable for the grace and fineness of its workmanship was forged for Takeda Shingen by Nobuiye, also a Myōchin. The era was further rich in swordsmiths of note. Of these Gotō Sukenori was the most famous. A short sword made by him for Yoshimasa was considered a marvel of skilled forging. Glyptic work in various metals found masters of the highest craft in the representatives of the Gotō Family. They took their decorative designs from pictures painted by the artists of the Kanō school, and reproduced these charming conceptions on sword furniture with

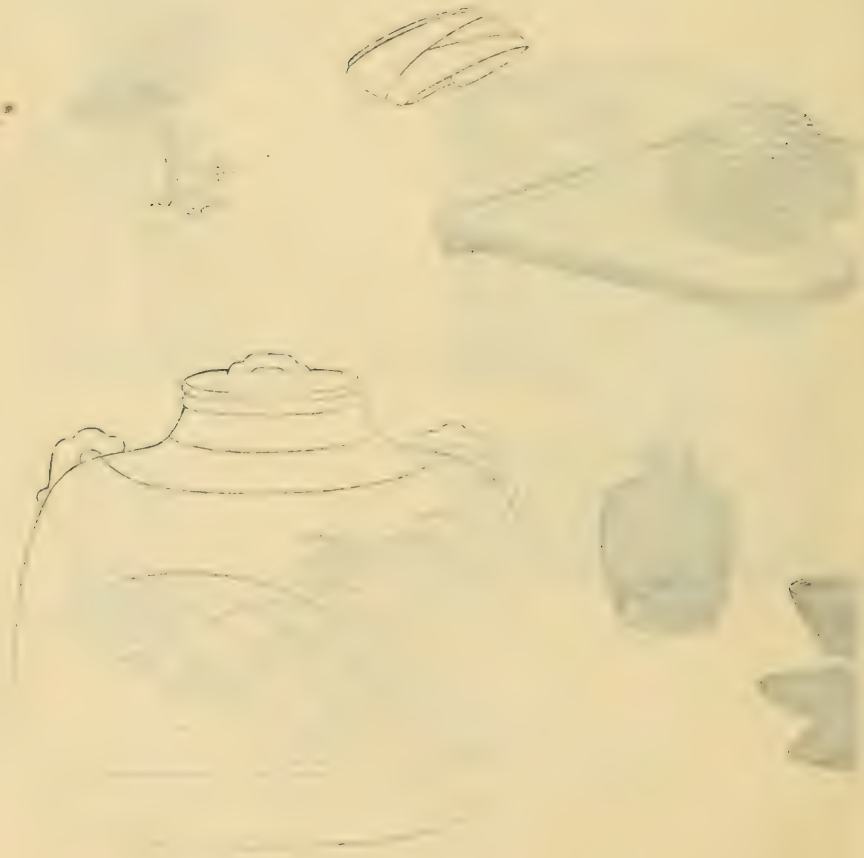




Vessels of t



Higashiyama Period.



extraordinay fidelity, using the chisel as though it were a painter's brush. Aoki Kaneiye and Myōchin Nobuiye were specially celebrated as makers of sword-guards, as part of the warrior's equipment on which much manufacturing care was lavished.

The vogue attained by the *Cha-no-yu* (tea ceremonial) cult under the Ashikaga Shōguns and owing to the efforts of Sen-no-Rikiu a celebrated dilettante of Hideyoshi's time, had a marked influence in encouraging the development of Keramics, and several experts of the craft made their appearance. During the reign of Gokashiwabara, a potter named Shouzui travelled to China to study the processes of his art, and on his return he established a kiln in Hizen, where the first Japanese translucid porcelain was produced. Shouzui adapted his methods to the canons of the *Cha-no-yu* cult making simplicity and purity of style his chief objects.

The lacquerer's art also made great progress in this era. Its experts found munificent patronage owing to the luxurious and costly tastes which prevailed at the time in obedience to the example set by the Ashikaga rulers. Objects of extraordinary richness and delicacy were produced, especially in the line of gold lacquer, where the Japanese workers developed unique skill. Their *chefs-d' œuvre* were not more valued in Japan than in China, where they were known as "*Yatpun T'sat-ki.*" It is on record that an envoy of the Chinese Government took with him, on his return to China, an expert in gold lacquering. Two other famous varieties of lacquer work had their origin in this era, namely, *tsuishu* or red lacuqer chiselled in high relief, and *tsuikoku*, or lacquer laid on in alternate layers of red and black and carved deeply, the edges of the design

being sloped so as to show the gradation of layers. Despite the continued warfare and unceasing disturbance of the Muromachi epoch, the Shōguns and the great nobles and generals affected a most luxurious and refined manner of life, and it consequently resulted that the blackest era of Japanese history, so far as concerned the preservation of public peace and order and the security of life and property, was nevertheless a time of marked artistic development, thus differing essentially from the dark age produced in Europe by the shadow of the sword.

SECTION. V.

*Autonomy of Territorial Nobles.*

From the *Ōnin* era onward the country was in a state of disorder. The power of the Imperial Court had materially declined, and the Shōgun's Government exercised comparatively little influence. Administrative authority rested with the *Kwanryō* alone, and even they were more or less under the control of their chief vassals. The fall of the Ashikaga Family was due to this excessive decentralization of power. By degrees the great nobles and territorial magnates established themselves in various localities, and began to make war upon each other. The victories gained in such contests were, however, short-lived. In a period of such universal unrest and confusion no element of permanency existed anywhere. The easiest method of arriving at a clear idea of the numerous *imperia in imperio* that existed in those feudal days, is to refer briefly to the principal of them in detail.

In the *Ōnin* era (1467-1468 A.D.), the city of Kyōto was burned during the fighting, and the Imperial Palace,

together with offices of State and the mansions of the Court Nobles, were levelled with the ground. Subsequently the inner buildings of the Palace were re-constructed, but inasmuch as the territorial magnates ceased to pay taxes to the Central Government, the Court nobles found themselves without revenues and the administrative officials were without salaries, so that some of them had no resource but to wander about the country and depend on the farmers for means of sustenance. Under such circumstances the usual Court ceremonials were, of course, dispensed with. Such was the impecuniosity in Kyōto that the Emperor Gotsuchimikado was unable to hold the wonted ceremony on the occasion of his accession, and at the time of his death, his funeral rites could not be performed owing to lack of funds for the funeral. It was not until the utmost exertions had been employed that the sum of a thousand *hiki* (2,500 *yen*) was collected and the burial rites were performed. On the succession of Gokashiwabara the coronation ceremony had to be abandoned for similar reasons, nor could it be performed until twenty-two years had elapsed, when the Lord Abbot of Hongwan-ji contributed a sum of ten thousand pieces of gold for the purpose. While Gonara was on the Throne, even the daily necessaries of life could not be procured in the Imperial Court without difficulty, neither could the Palace buildings be repaired though they had fallen into a state of much dilapidation. The Court, at that era, experienced the extremity of poverty. It is on record that Sanjonishi Sanetaka, one of the Courtiers, persuaded Ōuchi Yoshitaka to provide funds for carrying out the coronation ceremony, which must otherwise have been left in obeyance; and that the Emperor Ōgimachi, under similar circumstances, had recourse to the pecuniary assistance of Mōri Motonari.

TABLE SHOWING LINEAGE AND GENEALOGY OF SOVEREIGNS.

103rd Emperor Gotsuchimikado (1465-1506 A.D.)
|
104th Emperor Gokashiwabara (1506-1527 A.D.)
|
105th Emperor Gonara (1527-1558 A.D.)
|
106th Emperor Ōgimachi (1558-1537 A.D.)
|
*Yōkō.*
|
107th Emperor Goyōzei (1587-1612 A.D.)

The Shōgun Yoshitane, driven from office by the *Kwanryō* Hatakeyama, fled westward, but being succoured by Ōuchi Yoshioki of Suwō, was invited back by the party of Hosokawa Takakuni and became again Shōgun. Takakuni, however, subsequently abandoned his cause, and expelling him from power, set up in his stead Yoshiharu, grandson of Yoshinori. But the partizans of Hosokawa Harumoto would not agree to this change. They attacked and killed Takakuni, and Hosokawa Harumoto became *Kwanryō*. He too was thrust from office by the disloyalty of his principal vassal Miyoshi, and the Hosokawa Family sunk into insignificance. Thereafter Miyoshi, in turn, suffered a similar fate at the hands of his vassal Matsunaga Hisahide, who, becoming embroiled with the Shōgun Yoshiteru, attacked the latter's palace, killed the Shōgun and, depriving Miyoshi of office, himself assumed the administrative control. But Yoshiaki, younger brother of Yoshiteru, escaped, and being joined by a number of partizans and aided by Ota Nobunaga, succeeded in obtaining the Shogunate. Unable, however, to brook the overshadowing power of Nobunaga, Yoshiaki took means to compass the latter's death. Deprived of the aid of this great soldier, Yoshiaki could not make head against his foes. In the first year of the *Tenshō*

era (1573 A.D.), he and his partizans being completely routed, he fled to the province of Kawachi, and the Ashikaga Family finally fell from power, after holding the office of Shōgun through fifteen generations and during a period of two hundred and thirty-eight years.

Examining the state of affairs throughout the provinces during the epoch now under review, it is seen that the authority of the Central Gevernment declined steadily, and that, from the *Ōnin* era onwards, men of valour, ambition, and capacity, making their appearance in various places, effected the overthrow of their lieges' houses, and worked to secure independence for themselves.

Turning now to Kwantō, we find that, after Ashikaga Shigeuji had escaped to Koga, Masatomo, younger brother of the Shōgun Yoshimasa, became lord of Kwantō. Uyesugi Akisada of Yamanouchi, Uyesugi Noritomo of Ōgigayatsu and others, assisted by Masatomo of Izu, marched against Koga, and routing the partizans of Shigeuji, compelled him to fly to Chiba. In this affair the lords of Yamanouchi and Ōgigayatsu received conspicuous aid from their chief vassals, Nagao Kanenobu and Ōta Dōkan, respectively. Thenceforth the two Uyesugi *Kwanryō* enjoyed great popularity and wielded large influence in Kwantō. But Akisada's methods of administration not being efficient, Kageharu, son of Kagenobu, became strong enough to revolt, and Ōta Dōkan, a man of great fertility of resource and military skill, selected Edo as the site for a castle and invited thither the most noted scholars of the empire, himself studying under them. Many of the captains and *Samurai* who had hitherto acknowledged the lordship of Uyesugi Akisada, were so much attracted by the methods of Ōta that

they attached themselves to his master, Uyesugi Norimoto of Ōgigayatsu, and the jealousy of Akisada being thus aroused, he contrived the death of Ōta in collusion with Sadamasa, son of Norimoto. From that time the power of the two Uyesugi Families being to decline, and their authority, exercised through the *Kubō* of Horikoshi (*i.e.* Masatomo), ceased to receive practical recognition. In the second year of the *Yentoku* era (1490 A.D.) Masatomo was murdered by his son Chacha and the government of the province of Izu fell into disorder. At this juncture there appeared upon the scene Ise Nagauji, a man of exceptional talent and military capacity. Proceeding to Suruga, he obtained the assistance of the Imagawa Family, and at the head of the latter's forces prepared to attack Izu, seeing his opportunity in the disaffection and disorder then prevailing in that province. Nagauji sacrified everything in the cause of his ambition, giving away all his personal property to purchase popularity. Finally, when his preparations were complete, he attacked the Horikoshi head-quarters and obtained possession of the province of Izu. He then built a castle at Hōjō, the original seat of the Hōjō Family, and having adopted the tonsure, called himself Hōjō Sōun. Subsequently he over-ran the province of Sagami and made Odawara Castle his head-quarters. Nagauji's son, Ujitsuna, showed great valour and skill in war, and his son, Ujiyasu, continued the ambitious career of his father and grandfather, gradually encroaching upon the neighbouring provinces, until the extent of his domains and the magnitude of his army, provoked the jealousy of the Imagawa Family, who formed an alliance for his over-throw with Uyesugi Norimasa. Ujiyasu, however, defeated these foes at Kawagoye, and having gradually over-run the provinces ruled by the Uyesugi Family, became finally lord of all Kwantō.

One of the generals of the Uyesugi Family, Nagao Tamekage, threw off his allegiance and obtained possession of the province of Echigo, in the administration of which he was succeeded by his second son, Kagetora, a man of prudence and ability. When Uyesugi Norimasa of Yamanouchi found himself attacked by the Hōjō Family, he sought aid of Kagetora, on whom he conferred the name of Uyesugi and the post of *Kwanryō*. In the fourth year of the *Eiroku* era (1561 A.D.), Kagetora proceeded to Kyōto where he was received in audience by the Shōgun Yoshiteru, confirmed in his adoption of the name Uyesugi, and nominated *Kwanryō* of Kwantō. The Shōgun authorized him to incorporate the ideograph *Teru* in his name, which thus became Uyesugi Terutora, and commissioned him to take the field against Ujiyasu. In the meanwhile, Takeda Harunobu had raised his standard in the province of Kai, and marching into Shinano, fought with Terutora. Takeda Harunobu and Uyesugi Terutora marshalled their troops so skilfully and handled them so ably on that occasion that their methods became an example to future tacticians. Terutora suffered a signal defeat. Takeda Harunobu was an ardent disciple of Buddhism. After this military success, he adopted the tonsure and called himself Shingen. He displayed remarkable ability in administrative and financial affairs. Under his auspices gold mines were opened, and considerable reductions of taxation were effected.

In Tōgoku (eastern provinces), the Imagawa Family was not only the oldest but also the most puissant. Its representatives from generation to generation were Wardens of Suruga, and when Uyesugi Zenshū revolted against the Shōgun, it was to the Imagawa Family that the latter

issued orders to bring Kwantō into subjection. In the times of Imagawa Yoshitada, that family possessed Tōtōmi and Mikawa as well as Suruga, and Yoshitada's grandson, Yoshimoto, showed a conspicuous disposition to raid and intimidate the neighbouring provinces.

In addtion to the great nobles enumerated above, Date Shigemune held independent military state in Mutsu; Saitō Hidetatsu expelled the Toki Family from Mino by force of arms, and established himself in that province; while in Owari the Ota Family held the position of acting Warden and developed great power during the generations of Toshisada, Toshinobu, Nobuhide, and Nobunaga.

In the Western provinces, the Ōuchi Family stood at the head of all the great territorial magnates. In the days of Yoshioki that family possessed the six provinces of Suwō, Nagato, Buzen, Chikuzen, Aki, and Iwami. They also carried on commerce with China and Korea, and were not only powerful but wealthy. When Yoshioki's son Yoshitaka, represented the family, a noble named Amako Haruhisa over-ran Bizen and Aki in succession and defied the Ouchi partizans. Yoshitaka issued orders to Mōri Motonari of Aki to attack and destroy this insurgent. In Hizen, also, resistance to the Ōuchi rule was organized by Shōni Fuyuhisa, whom, however, Yoshitaka routed without difficulty. Ōtomo Yoshishige, the richest and most powerful noble in Bungo, was a near relative of the Ōuchi Family, and thus by conqest or consanguinity the puissance of Yoshitaka extended throughout Sanyō and Kiushū. It became a frequent practice for the Court nobles, when driven from Kyōto by the wars that devastated that city, to seek refuse in the Ōuchi castle at Yamaguchi. Yoshitaka, how-

ever, neglected military affairs for the sake of literature. Addicted to the composition of Chinese and Japanese poetry, to the tea ceremonial, and to the game of *mari* (ball), he paid little attention to administrative affairs, and such of his vassals as enjoyed his favour were enabled to commit unjust acts with impunity. Suye Harukata, one of the Ōuchi generals, a man of proud and arbitrary disposition, entered into a plot with Ōtomo Sōrin, and having contrived the death of Yoshitaka, made Sōrin's younger brother the head of the Ōuchi Family, himself assuming a leading part in the government of the provinces. This occurred in the twentieth year of the *Tenmon* era (1551 A.D.), and three years later Mōri Motonari, with his two sons, Kikkawa Motoharu and Kobayakawa Takakage, engaged Harukata at Itsukushima and destroyed the whole of his army, Harukata himself being killed. This event placed the Mōri Family at the head of the Chiugoku provinces, and ended the supremacy of the Ōuchi. Shōni also was attacked and defeated by Riūzōji Takanobu, and at this time the House of Shimazu began to develop great strength, obtaining possession of the two provinces of Satsuma and Ōsumi. Turning to Nankai, again, we find the families of Hosokawa and Kōno in a state of decline, and only Chōsokabe in Tosa prosperous. In a word, the feature of the time was the fall of the old aristocracy and the rise of their chief vassals, who in turn fought among themselves for the possession of the provinces.

While the *Samurai* were thus winning for themselves independent status here and there throughout the country, the spirit of ambition affected even the priests of Buddha. A sect called the *Ikkō-shū* was conspicuous for the agitation it created. The origin of this sect dated from the

days of the Hōjō Shogunate. It had been founded by a priest named Shinran, whose daughter also exercised much influence and established in Kyōto the afterwards celebrated temple Hongwan-ji. Shinran's seventh grandson, Kenju—called also Rennyo—was a man of remarkable eloquence and power of appealing to men's hearts. He won many followers, who not only believed firmly in his doctrines but also contributed large sums of money to the cause. His success provoked keen animosity on the part of other sects, and he was finally expelled from Kyōto. Escaping to Echizen, he adopted a militant form of propagandism, employing armed force to compel adherence to his doctrines. In this way there were gathered to his cause numbers of vagabond soldiers who belonged to no fixed service, and at the head of a large force he entered Kaga and assailed several temples there, defeating the troops of the Warden, Togashi, and subsequently overthrowing the partizans of the Hatakeyama and Asakura Families, and over-running the three provinces of Kaga, Echizen, and Noto. At a later date, the priests of twenty-one Nichiren temples in Kyōto, who were bitterly hostile to the *Ikkō* sect, attacked Kōkyo, the great grandson of Rennyo, and set fire to the temple Hongwan-ji, Kōkyo retiring to Ishiyama (the present Ōsaka) in Settsu, where he built another great temple, giving to it also the name of Hongwan-ji. His reverses in Kyōto did not impire the propagandism of his doctrines. The disciples of the *Ikkō-shū* increased steadily in number, until they over-spread Kinai, Hokuriku, and Tōkai.

CHAPTER IV.

## *Restoration of Domestic Tranquillity.*

SECTION I.

### *The Ota Family.*

The tendency of the Ashikaga times, as has been shown in preceding sections, was to encourage individual ambition. Military chieftains devoted themselves to organizing armies and equipping soldiers in the most efficient manner, in order to overcome rivals and establish their own independence. But none of them ever succeeded in introducing order into the provinces they over-ran or organizing their administration on a permanent basis. Probably the origin of this defect is to be sought, not in the administrative incompetence of these chieftains, but rather in the absence of any supreme head to issue general orders. The power of the Imperial Court, indeed, had greatly declined during the epoch of the Ashikaga Shogunate, but the nation nevertheless regarded the Sovereign with the utmost respect, and whatever the prowess of military nobles or however great the number of their following, it was impossible for them to undertake any decisive campaign against Kyōto because, in traversing the interval that separated their basis of operations from the capital, they would have found themselves environed by enemies ready to protect the Court against violence, as well as by rivals whom the prospect of any one noble's supremacy would have moved to union against him. Nothing remained, therefore, but to establish local autonomy. Beyond that none of the great nobles succeeded in attaining until the Ota Family appeared in Owari, and owing to their sagacity

and valour, as well as so to the strategical advantages of their position, accomplished more than any of their predecessors.

This remarkable family was descended from the Taira. Their ancestor served Shiba, Warden of Echizen, and became his chief vassal. On the downfall of the House of Shiba, Ota Toshisada removed to the province of Owari, and in the time of his son Nobuhide, the family had grown wealthy and powerful. Nobuhide, from his early youth, was an ardent Imperialist. He made large pecuniary sacrifices to effect the repairs of the Emperor's Palace, and the reconstruction of the Gekū, one of the principal shrines in Ise. His son Nobunaga, a man of daring, harboured ambitious designs, and following his father's example, treated the Sovereign with the utmost deference and constantly revolved plans for the general pacification of the country and the restoration of order. In his youth he showed a disposition to profligacy, but the Chief Seneschal of his house having committed suicide to emphasize a protest against these dissolute courses, Nobunaga completely reformed his conduct. At that epoch large influence was wielded by the Rokkaku Family in Ōmi, the Saitō Family in Mino, and the Asakura Family in Echizen. Imagawa Yoshimoto, lord of Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mikawa, was also a puissant magnate; Takeda Shingen was supreme in Kai and Shinano, and the Hōjō and Uyesugi Families held sway in the north-eastern provinces. The Imagawa Family showed a conspicuous disposition to attack and raid the territories of neighbouring chieftains, and in the third year of the *Eiroku* era (1560), Yoshimoto, the chief of that Family, invaded Owari at the head of a great army, overbearing all resistance and destroying several strongholds. Pushing on to Okehazama, the Imagawa Chieftain rested

there, and organized an immense banquet to celebrate his successes. During the Progress of these festivities, Ota Nobunaga a command of a comparatively small force, surprised the Imagawa camp, inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders, and killed Yoshimoto, a disaster, from which the Imagawa Family never recovered, their remaining power being afterwards completely stripped from them by the Takeda partizans. Having achieved this success, Nobunaga turned his eyes to Mino. In that province Tatuoki, the son of Saitō Yoshitatsu, had Impaired the fealty of his captians by an extravagant course of life. Nobunaga seized the opportunity, and leading an army into Mino, attacked Tatsuoki, who failed to make any effective stand, his captains and *Samurai* having, for the most part, espoused the cause of Nobunaga. The Ota chief did not rely on force of arms alone. He obtained the friendship of the Takeda Shingen and the Matsudaira Families by contracting marital relations with them, thus securing himself against molestation from the east. He now watched closely for a favourable opportunity to direct his arms against the military magnates in Kyōto. Just as this epoch, Matsunaga Hisahide, as described in a previous Section, had killed the Shōgun Yoshiteru, and the latter's brother Yoshiaki escaping first to the province of Ōmi, and afterwards to Echizen, had sought the succour of the Asakura Family in order to avenge his brother's death. After a time, finding himself coldly treated by the Asakura partizans, he made his way to Mino, and solicited the aid of Nobunaga, who received him with the utmost cordiality and maintained him in the Ota mansion. Thereafter, having taken the field against the Rokkaku Family and brought Ōmi under his sway, Nobunaga entered Kyōto, escorting Yoshiaki, and having, shortly afterwards, obtained the sub-

mission of Miyoshi and Matsunaga, found himself lord of all Kinai. About this time the Shōgun Yoshihide died, and was succeeded, in the eleventh year of the *Eiroku* era (1568 A.D.) by Yoshiaki. Nobunaga now caused a castle to be constructed at Nijō summoning the people of Kinai and other districts to contribute to its completion either in money or labour. This place he assigned as residence to the Shōgun Yoshiaki, entrusting the duty of guarding him to Kinoshita Hideyoshi, afterwards called the *Taikō*. Previously to these events, the Emperor Ōgimachi had communicated privately with Nobunaga, asking him to repair the Imperial Palace, and so soon as the Ota Chief had restored order in Kyōto and its neighbourhood, he instructed Murai Sadakatsu and others to undertake the restoration of the Palace, which once more assumed its ancient aspect of splendour. One of methods employed by Nobunaga to obtain funds for the preservation of the Imperial buildings was to lend rice to the people, the interest occuring on the loans being devoted to the maintenance of the Palace. Another occasion now presented itself for extending Nobuaga's sway. Kitabatake Tomonori, Warden of Ise, had become embroiled with certain members of his family, and disorder prevailed in the province. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, the Ota chief led his forces into Ise, and beseiged Tomonori, who was compelled to capitulate through want of provision, one of the terms of captitulation being that he should nominate Nobunaga's son, Nobukatsu, to be his successor as head of the Kitabatake Family. Ise having thus been subdued, Nobunaga directed his arms against Echizen, and attacked Asakura Yoshikage. The latter having been engaged in a project with Rokkaku Shōtei and Asai Nagamasa for the overthrow of the Ota Family, Nobukaga, acting in concert with Tokugawa Iye-

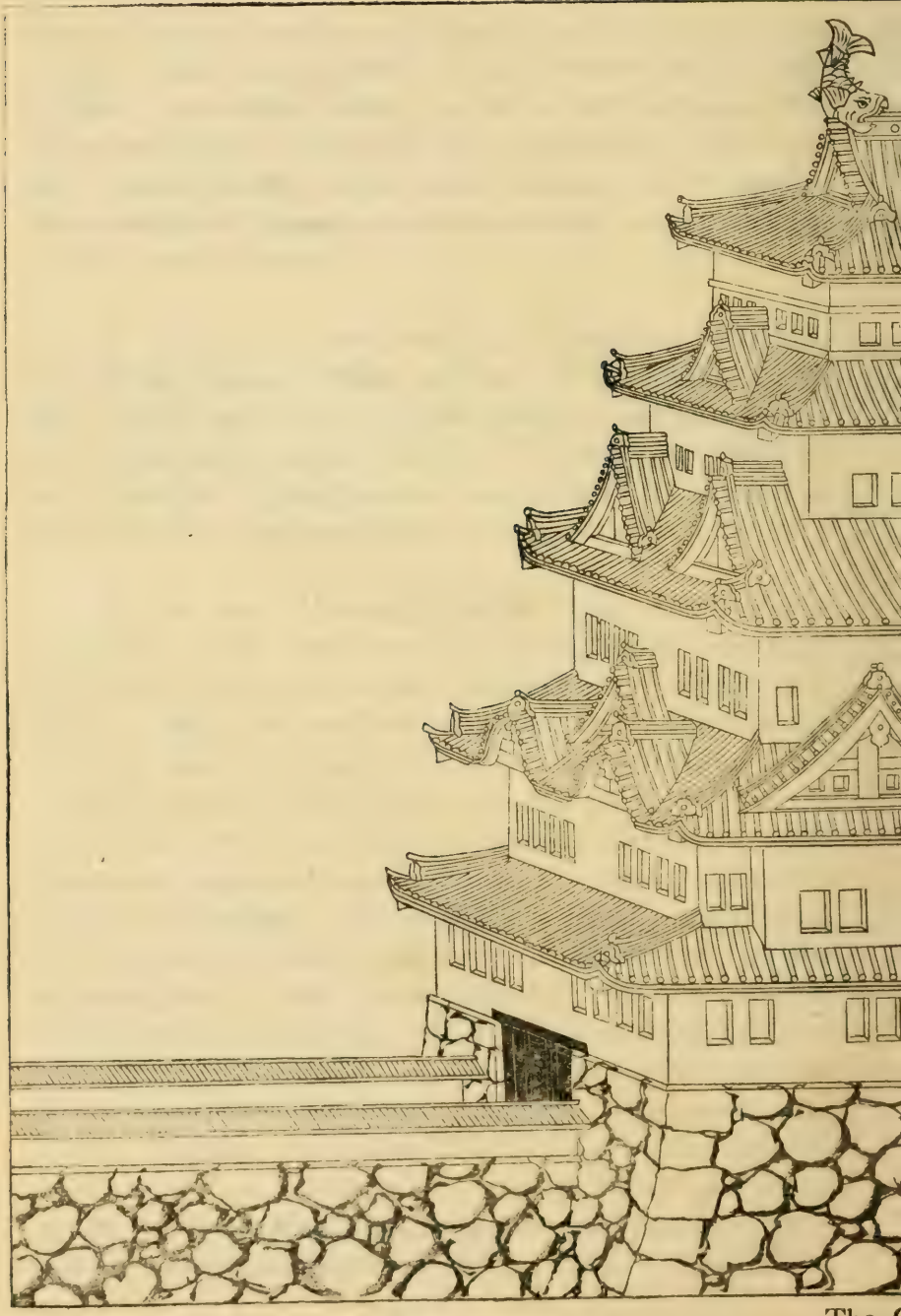
yasu, included these nobles in his campaign, and succeeded in killing both Nagamasa and Yoshikage and in completely overthrowing the Rokkaku Family. The priests of Eizan, however, succoured the Asakura partizans and defied all control. Nobunaga, indignant at their insubordination and general misconduct, concerted measures to punish all priests who indulged in meat diet or violated the law of celebacy. His generals would fain have dissuaded him from this project in view of the great influence wielded by the Eizan priests at the Imperial Court ever scince the *Enryaku* era (782-805 A.D.). Disregarding their remonstrances, however, he destroyed several of the temples, putting the priests to death as well as the women and children who lived with them, confiscating their lands, aud bestowing them on his vassal Akechi Mitsuhide. Thus fell the contumacious and powerful priests who, relying on the authority of their religion, had treated even the Imperial mandates with contempt. Nothing remained of them but a few of their temples, and the doctrines they had taught. Kōsa, however, the Lord Abbot of Hongwan-ji, was at Ishiyama, and thither large numbers of partizans collected from the provinces about the capital and defied Nobunaga. Notable among these religious warriors was a section assembled at Nagashima in Ise. Against these the generals of Nobunaga took the field, and after many reverses, succeeded in overthrowing them. There remained, however, the priests in Settsu and Kaga, who possessed great strength. Nobunaga sent his troops against them, and Kōsa was finally obliged to retreat to Sagimori in Kii. Eleven years were spent before Nobunaga succeeded in entirely reducing the priests of Ishiyama. Meanwhile the Shōgun, Yoshiaki, rendered uneasy by the immense power which Nobunaga was acquiring, raised an army to attack

him. Nobunaga made every effort to convince the Shōgun of the loyalty and propriety of his conduct, but Yoshiaki declined to entertain these overtures, and Nobunaga was at last compelled to take the field against him. The campaign ended in the defeat of the Shōgun. He escaped to the province of Kawachi, and the supremacy of the Ashikaga Family came to an end.

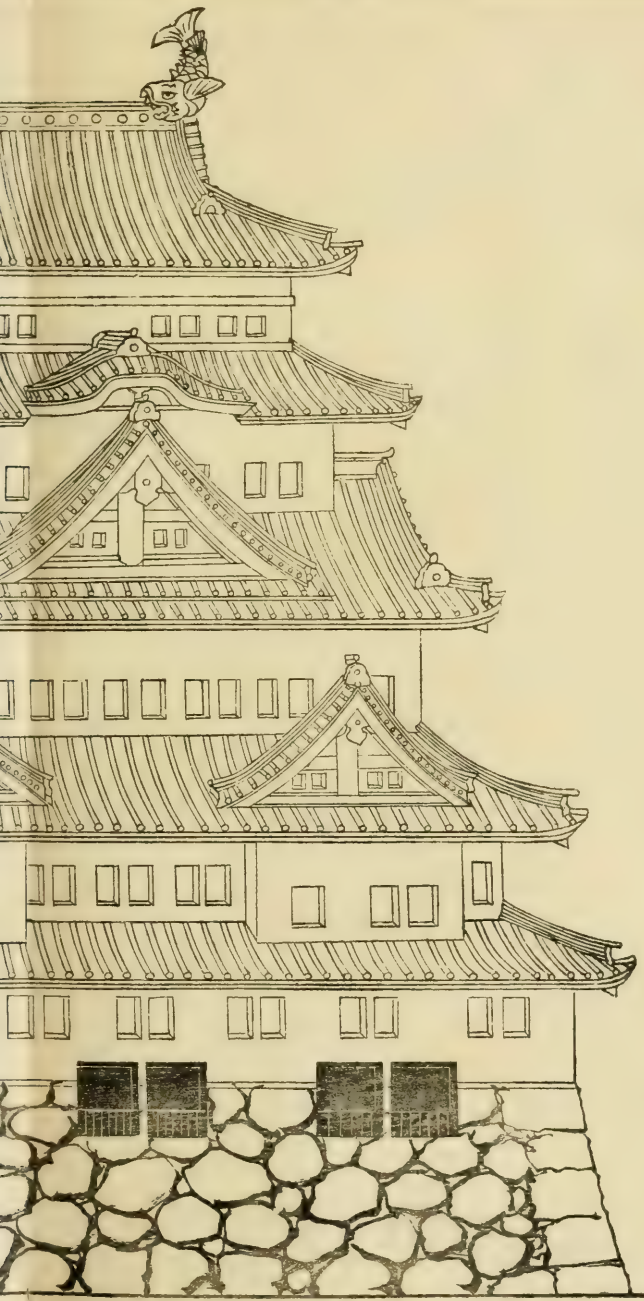
Nobunaga now completed the subjugation of Kinai, Ōmi, Mino, Kaga, Echizen, and Ise. In the fourth year of the *Tenshō* era (1576 A.D.), he built a castle of unprecedented strength at Azuchi in Ōmi. The keep was a hundred feet in height. It stood on the stone walls of seventy feet in height, with moats constructed of large masses of granite.

At this time Uyesugi Kenshin died, and a dispute arose among his sons about the succession, Kagekatsu at last getting the upper hand. Nobunaga sent Shibata Katsuiye to bring the northern provinces into subjection, his ultimate intention being to compass the overthrow of the Uyesugi Family. In Kwantō, in the ninth year of the *Tenshō* era (1518 A.D.), Takeda Shingen died, and his son, Katsuyori, succeeded him. Katsuyori, however, was extravagant and haughty. He treated his captains and soldiers with disdain and placed confidence in flatterers, so that the administration of the district gradually fell into disorder. In the tenth year of the *Tenshō* era, Nobunaga, together with his son Nobutada and Tokugawa Iyeyasu, invaded Kwantō and killed Katsuyori, completely overthrowing the Takeda Family, and seizing the three provinces hitherto ruled by it, Kai, Shinano, and Suruga, which he divided among Takikawa Kazumasa, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, and others, himself returning to Kyōto.





The C



le of Nagoya.



Previously to this Nobunaga had conceived the intention of subjugating the southern provinces, where, at that epoch, the Family of Mōri Motonari was very powerful, having defeated Amako Kazuhisa, overthrown the Ukida Family, and obtained complete control in the ten provinces af Sanin and Sanyō. Thereafter, taking the field against Ōtomo Yoshishige, and forming an alliance with the Chōsokabe Family of Tosa, Mōri extended his sway throughout Kiushū and Nankai. In the fifth year of the *Tenshō* era (1577 A.D.) Nobunaga made his General, Hashiba Hideyoshi, Lord of Harima, with orders to bring into subjection the provinces of Chiugoku. Amako Kazuhisa forthwith made act of submission to Hideyoshi, and the latter, entering Bitchū, engaged the troops of Mōri. By diverting the course of a river, Hideyoshi inundated the castle of Takamatsu, and then sent to Nobunaga asking for reinforcements. Just at that time Nobunaga had brought the eastern provinces nnder his sway, and was about to despatch his forces westward under the command of various generals to whom plans of campaign were furnished. But one of these generals, Akechi Mitsuhide, suddenly attacked Nobunaga and Nobutada, and succeeded in killing both. This event occurred in the early morning of June 2nd in the tenth year of the *Tenshō* era (1582 A.D.).

The great strategic skill, Nobunaga added the faculty of choosing the best men for the various posts of command in the provinces conquered by him. He had at his disposal a remarkable number of sagacious and valiant commanders, whose services he freely regarded by ample grants of land, and his conquests extended over Tōkai, Tōsan, Hokuriku, Sanin, and Sanyō. Death prevented him from carrying out his design of subjugating Kiushū as he had subjugated

the other district of the empire. Towards the Imperial Court he showed unvarying reverence. He devoted considerable sums to renovating the Shrines. He adopted effective measures for the repair of roads and bridges. He facilitated travel by abolishing military barriers. But his character was austere, and his administrative measures were strict and uncompromising. It was by the exercise of these traits that he provoked the anger of Mitsuhide, and thus unfortunately met an untimely end without achieving the great ambition of his life.

## SECTION II.

### *The Toyotomi Family.*

Mitsuhide having compassed the death of Nobunaga, proceeded to Adzuchi, Nobunaga's castle, and having there possessed himself of a large supply of money and other valuables, returned to Kyōto. Meanwhile, Hashiba Hideyoshi, who had received the province of Bitchū from Nobunaga, was engaged in a campaign against the Mōri Terumoto, whose castle of Takamatsu he destroyed. Terumoto thereupon made overtures of peace, offering to surrender five of the provinces held by him, and Hideyoshi, carefully concealing the fact of Nobunaga's death, news of which had just reached him, agreed to these proposals, and concluded a compact with the Mōri Family. Immediately, acting in conjunction with Ota Nobutaka, he turned his arms against the rebel Mitsuhide. The latter fought at Yamazaki in Settsu, experiencing a crushing defeat. He directed his flight to Ōmi, but was killed *en route*, his death happening only thirteen days after he had raised the standard of revolt. Kitabatake Nobukatsu, Niwa Nagahide, Shibata

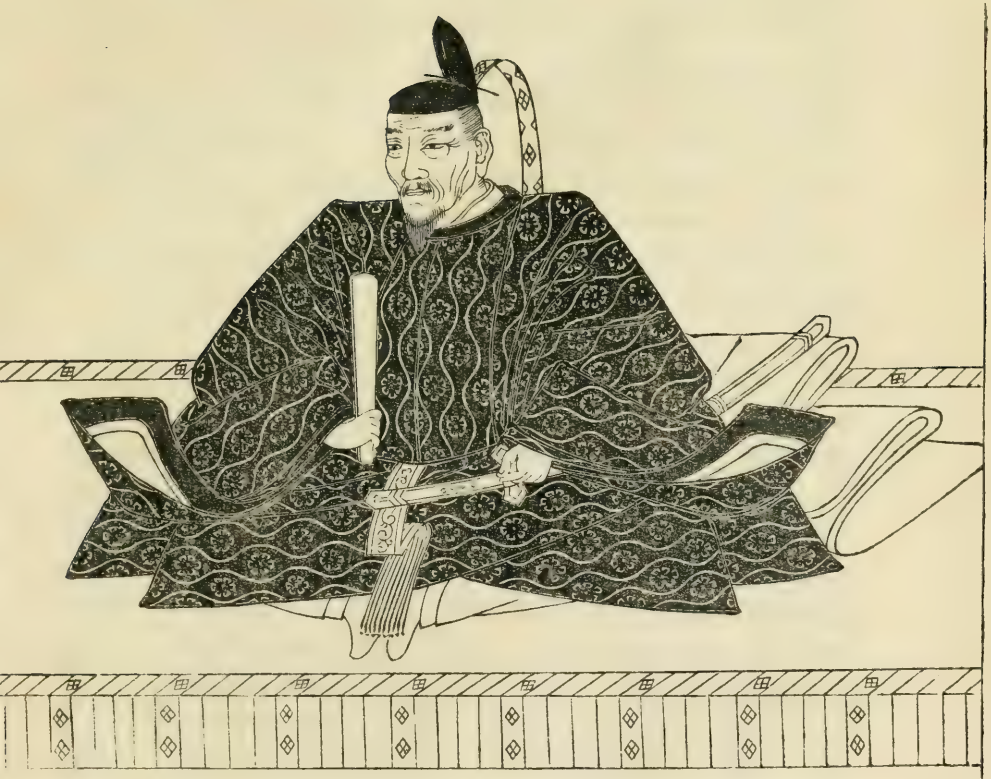


Image of Hideyoshi.



Katsuiye, Takikawa Kazumasa, and other nobles hastened from their provinces to avenge the death of Nobunaga, but on their arrival they found that Hideyoshi had forestalled them, and that Mitsuhide was dead. A consultation was now held between Hideyoshi and these generals with regard to Nobunaga's successer, his two sons, Nobukatsu and Nobutaka, being keen rivals for the honour. Hideyoshi, apprehending that their mutual enmity might prove disastrous if either were nominated, would not listen to the advice of his colleagues, but insisted that Sambōshi, son of Nobutada, should be appointed. Sambōshi was then a child only three years of age, so that the power of the Ota Family devolved upon Hideyoshi. The other generals, however, refused to endorse this arrangement. Nobutaka especially was hostile to the influence of Hideyoshi. Acting in collusion with Shibata Katsuiye and Takikawa Kazumasa, he attempted to destroy Hideyoshi. But the celerity of Hideyoshi's movement defeated these projects. Falling first upon Kazumasu, he defeated him completely, and then marching against Katsuiye, overthrew him at Shizugatake in Ōmi, the discomfited general commiting suicide. The northern provinces were thus brought into subjection, and soon afterwards Hideyoshi, in conjunction with Nobukatsu, attacked and killed Nobutaka in Gifu. Kazumasa also surrendered, and Hideyoshi destroyed all those who had espoused the Ota cause against him. The Emperor now conferred on him the title of *Sangi* (Councillor of State), and he established his head-quarters in Ōsaka, judging that place convenient for purposes of transportation and administration alike. Instructions were issued to the various territorial noble to furnish timber and stones, with which Hideyoshi caused to be constructed in Ōsaka a castle of unprecedented strength and magnificence. Meanwhile,

Nobukatsu had conceived hostility towards Hideyoshi, and in conjunction with Tokugawa Iyeyasu, raised an army and occupied a strong position at Komaki in Owari. Hideyoshi, finding himself unable to overcome these adversaries, concluded peace with them. Meanwhile, taking advantage of his absence in the east, the Chōsokabe Family of Shikoku laid plans for an attack upon Ōsaka, but Hideyoshi, marching his forces back rapidly, attacked and defeated Chōsokabe Motochika and brought Nankai into subjection. Thereafter he appointed Hachisuka Iyemasa to be lord of Awa, and gave Sanuki to Sengoku Hidehisa and Fukushima Masanori. In the following year he invaded Etchū and conquered Sassa Narimasa, receiving also the submission of Uyesugi Kagekatsu of Echigo. The northern provinces were thus brought under his sway.

The Shimadsu Family were then very wealthy and possessed a powerful army, so that their influence throughout Kiushū was great, the Ōtomo and the Riuzōji Families being overshadowed by them. Ōtomo Yoshishige therefore sent a message to Kyōto soliciting aid from Hideyoshi, who despatched Chōsokabe Motochika and Sengoku Hidehisa to succour him. They attacked Shimadsu, but were defeated by him. Hence, in the fifteenth year of the *Tenshō* era (1587 A.D.) Hideyoshi took the field in person. Moving southward by land and by sea at the head of a great force, he assaulted and destroyed several of the Shimadsu stronghold in Kiushū, and finally drew near to Kagoshima itself, whereupon Shimadsu Yoshihisa and his younger brother, Yoshihiro, offered to surrender. Hideyoshi, who perfectly understood the value of moderation, accepted these proposals. He took from the Shimadsu Family the lands of which they had arbitrarily obtained possession,

but gave them the three provinces of Hiuga, Satsuma, and Ōsumi.

Prior to these events Hideyoshi built in Kyōto a magnificent mansion to which he gave the name of Shuraku. There, in the sixteenth year of the *Tenshō* era (1588 A.D.), he prayed the ex-Emperor and the Emperor to honour him with a visit, and they consenting, proceeded to the place, accompanied by the Princes of the Blood and the Court nobles, being received by Hideyoshi and a great assemblage of territorial magnates. The entertainment, organized strictly according to ancient customs, was on a splendid scale, the amusements provided being dancing, music, and the composition of Japanese poetry. Hideyoshi spared no pains to restore the prestige of Throne. He supplied all the expenses required for the Imperial Household, and exacted from the nobles an oath that they would reverence the Sovereign, make no encroachment on the Imperial domains, nor show any disobedience to the Regent (*Kwambaku*), which office Hideyoshi himself held. Thenceforth the power of the *Kwambaku* increased continually, until it was acknowledged in almost every corner of the empire. Only the Hōjō Family, who had been supreme in Kwantō ever since the days of their ancestor Sōun, and the Date Family who held sway in Dewa and Ōshū, did not acknowledge the authority of Hideyoshi. Accordingly, in the 18th year of the *Tenshō* era (1590 A.D.), having obtained the mandate of the Emperor, Hideyoshi took the field against the Hōjō Family. Hōjō Ujimasa and his son Ujinao assembled their forces and entrenched themselves in a position of great natural strength. Meanwhile, in obedience to the Imperial mandate, troops from the various provinces assembled at Sagami, Tokugawa Iyeyasu and Ota Nobukatsu being among

the number of those who repaired thither. Resistance to this immense army was out of the question. One after another the generals of the contumacious nobles surrendered. Odawara, the Hōjō stronghold, was invested, and Date Masamune came after a time and made act of submission. Hideyoshi severely censured Masamune for not having taken this course sooner, and compelled him to restore the lands arbitrarily occupied by him. Afterwards, conducting Masamune to an elevated place, he showed him the might of the forces arrayed to do the *Kwambaku's* bidding, and received his avowal of complete submission. Meanwhile a seige of three months had failed to reduce the Odawara Castle, which was of remarkable strength. Hideyoshi therefore organized a great banquet in his camp to show the defenders that he could afford to wait quietly for their surrender, which soon afterwards took place. Ujimasa and all the other generals also yielded. Hideyoshi put Ujimasa to death, but released and exiled Ujinao and confiscated all the lands held by the Hōjō Family. To Tokugawa Iyeyasu he gave Izu, Sagami, Musashi, Kōzuke, Shimotsuke, Awa, Kazusa, and Shimōsa, and all the other generals and *Samurai* were rewarded with more or less extensive grants of territory. Further, about the middle of the Ashikaga epoch, Matsumaye Nobuhiro crossed to the island of Ezo, and he and his descendants brought the aborigines of that place into subjection. Hideyoshi recognised this conquest, and appointed Yoshihiro, great grandson of Nobuhiro, to be lord of Ezo.

Thus the wars and tumults that had convulsed Japan since the *Ōnin* era were at last brought to an end, and the whole country came under the administrative sway of Hideyoshi.

The son of a foot-soldier in Owari, Hideyoshi's original name was Tōkichi. From early childhood he acquired among his play-mates a reputation for cleverness. Subsequently, attracted by the great renown of Nobunaga, he took service under that noble, who, pleased with the sagacity displayed by the youth, raised him, after a time, to the command of a division of soldiers. Tōkichi grew in favour with the Ota chief, and finally the latter, in token of approval, conferred on him the name of Hashiba, deriving it from the names of his two ablest generals, Niwa and Shibata. When Nobunaga fell by the hand of Mitsuhide, one of his vassals, Hideyoshi showed remarkable promptness and ability in destroying the traitorous vassal, a deed that won for him high popularity among the partizans of the deceased chief. Thenceforth his career was a series of brilliantly conceived and boldly executed conquests. Pretexting always the protection of the Ota Family, he took advantage of the discussions between Nobutaka and Nobukatsu to overthrow Katsuiye and Kazumasu, and he showed at once his magnanimity and his prowess in the easy terms of peace which he granted on the Shimadsu Family while pushing his operations against the Hōjō to their complete overthrow. Thus, despite his humble origin, he succeeded ultimately in grasping the administrative reins of the whole empire. His ambition prompted him to desire the post of *Sei-i-Taishōgun*, but from time immemorial custom had required that the occupant of that high office should be a member of the Minamoto Family. This difficulty Hideyoshi sought to overcome by getting himself adopted as the son of the Shōgun Yoshiaki, but the latter could not be persuaded to consent. Ultimately, he induced the Emperor to appoint him *Kwambaku*, a position really ranking higher than that of

Shōgun. On that occasion the Sovereign conferred on him the family name of Toyotomi.

Hideyoshi's administrative organization was remarkable. He created five Governors (*Bugyō*); namely Maeda Gen-i, whose functions were to manage all the affairs of the city of Kyōto; Nagatsuka Masaiye, whose duty was to direct matters of taxation; and Asano Nagamasa, Ishida Mitsunari, and Masuda Nagamori, who had to discharge functions connected with the operation of the law, with public works, and with civil suits, respectively. He also selected Tokugawa Iyeyasu, Uyesugi Kagekatsu, Mōri Terumoto, Ukida Hideiye, and Maeda Toshiiye, to form a council of state, called the *Gotairō* (Five Elders), for the purpose of deliberating upon all weighty national affairs. The question of the land also received careful attention at his hands. Perceiving that, owing to faulty administration of the regulations, many irregularities had arisen, and estates were in many cases wrongly registered, he established the new methods of divising land and sending inspectors to all the provinces, caused accurate surveys and returns to be made, severe punishment being meted out to any officials convicted of receiving bribes in the execution of this office. The result was that large tracts of land hitherto improperly exempted from taxation were brought within the fiscal system. A radical change was also introduced in the manner of registering lands; hitherto they had been classed according to the monetary income obtained from them; thenceforth they were estimated according to their produce in kind, and the taxes were calculated on the basis of this new valuation. Speaking roughly, about two-thirds of the produce went to the State, the remainder to the cultivators of the land.

Areas which had thus been duly surveyed were called the inspected lands of the *Taikō*. Further, in view of the defective condition of the currency, Hideyoshi caused gold coins of two dimensions—*ōban* and *koban*—to be struck, as well as ingots of silver, and coins of silver and copper known as the *tenshō tsūhō-sen*.

In Hideyoshi's time Christianity had already obtained considerable vogue throughout the country. Ota Nobunaga had sanctioned the preaching of the foreign creed, and had built for it a place of worship, called Namban-ji, in Kyōto. But when Hideyoshi, in the course of his campaign against Shimadsu, reached Hakata, the Christian priests showed such an arrogant demeanour that Hideyoshi, enraged by their conduct, ordered that they should leave Japan by a certain day, and prohibited the people from embracing Christianity. He even went to the length of causing Namban-ji to be destroyed. Some of the converts, however, managed to conceal themselves and carry on their worship in secret. When the Tokugawa Shōguns came into possession of the administrative power, the edicts against the foreign faith were strictly enforced, and steps were taken to restore to Buddhism those who had embraced Christianity. These measures were unsuccessful, however, and culminated in the Shimabara disturbance, which will be subsequently described.

## SECTION III.

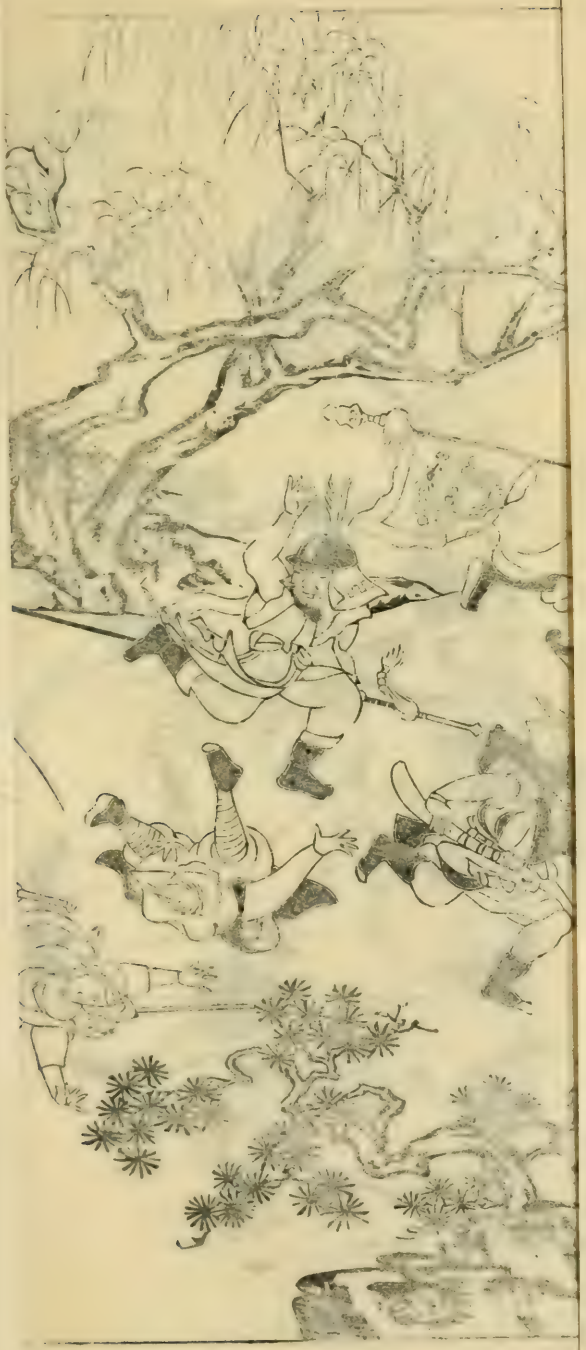
### *The Invasion of Korea.*

While the reins of administration were in the hands of the Ashikaga Family, the authority of the Government was

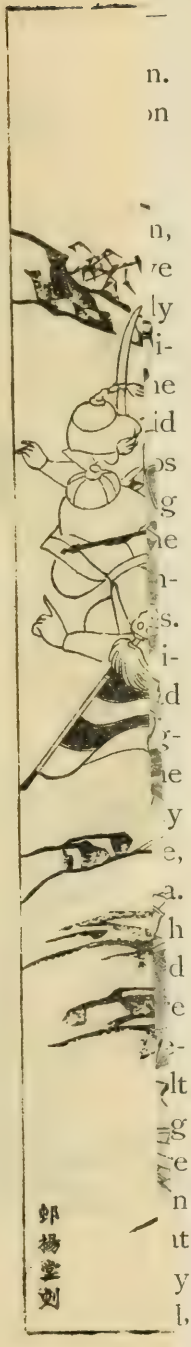
limited, the laws were only partially respected, disorders were constant, and the littoral population took advantage of the situation to engage in piratical raids against China. These proceedings led to a cessation of intercourse between Japan and China, and Korea also, having been conquered by China, ceased to maintain friendly relations with Japan. Much cause of complaint existed against Korea. The Koreans had always assisted the Yuan Dynasty of Mongols in their attacks upon Japan, and had shown themselves her bitter enemies. But owing to the unceasing prevalence of internal disturbance in Japan, it was not possible to avenge the hostile acts of China and Korea. So soon, however, as domestic broils were brought to an end and the control of the administration rendered effective throughout the empire, Hideyoshi formed the project of leading an expedition against the Ming Sovereigns. He had entertained this idea for some time, and had made it known to Ota Nobunaga when preparations were in progress for the campaign against the Mōri Family. In the fifteenth year of the *Tenshō* era (1587 A.D.), Hideyoshi, after his successful expedition against the Shimadsu Family, sent a despatch to Sō Yoshitomo, Warden of Tsushima Island, directing him to take steps for inviting the King of Korea to come to Japan in order to have audience of the Japanese Emperor. This invitation was to be accompanied by an intimation that unless the King obeyed the summons, the Japanese forces would at once be directed against Korea. Following up this measure, he determined—in the eighteenth year of the *Tenshō* era (1590 A.D.), by which time the country's domestic troubles had been entirely settled—to insist on presents being sent to Japan by both China and Korea, on pain of being invaded unless they consented to take that

step. He despatched an envoy to Korea with instructions to make known his purpose, and to require that the Koreans should act as intermediaries to procure China's consent. In the event of the Koreans' refusing, they were threatened with the punishment of being compelled to march in the van of a Japanese army to the invasion of China. The Koreans, however, declined to accept any such direction. Hideyoshi, therefore, gave up the office of *Kwambaku* to his adopted son, Hidetsugu, and assuming the title of *Taikō* himself, decided to lead an expedition against Korea. The Emperor having given his approval of the step, orders were issued to all the provinces to furnish troops and military supplies, as well as to build a great fleet of war-vessels. These preparations having been completed in the first year of the *Bunroku* era (1592 A.D.), Hideyoshi appointed Ukida Hideiye Commander-in-Chief of the Army, with Masuda Nagamori, Ishida Mitsunari, and Ōtani Yoshitaka for his staff. The whole force, numbering, it is said, 130,000 men, was divided into eight corps, and with the van were Konishi Yukinaga and Katō Kiyomasa. The sailors of the fleet aggregated 9,000, and were under the command of Kuki Yoshitaka. In March of that year, Hideyoshi left Kyōto, and proceeding westward, worshipped at the cemeteries of the Emperor Chūai and the Empress Jingū, passing thence to Nagoya in Hizen, where the forces mustered. In April the expedition sailed from the coast of Japan. The number of ships was so great that they seemed to cover the whole sea, and the Koreans were filled with consternation at the approach of such a force. Konishi Yukinaga and his division were the first to reach Korea. They affected a landing at Fusan, and took prisoner the Korean general who attempted to defend the port. Thence Konishi marched to Tokunegi, overbearing all resistance

and putting the enemy's officers to the sword. Shortly afterwards Kiyomasa and his corps also reached Fusan, and heading for Kegushagushu, attacked and took it. Korea's opposition was soon crushed, and the whole country submitted to the vast force of invaders. Meanwhile, the King, Lein, who had not failed to convey to China intimation of the pending danger, sent to the Court of the *Ming* Sovereign earnest appeals for succour; and his troops having been everywhere defeated by the Japanese, he finally fled from the capital with his son, and took refuge in Hegushagu, having left one of his generals to defend Kankō. The Japanese troops, everywhere victorious, pushed on to the capital, which was taken by Konishi Yukinaga, the other generals subsequently assembling there. Yukinaga now made preparations to invade Hei-andō, and Kiyomasa took Kamukyandō as the scene of his next campaign. Meanwhile, Hideyoshi, forseeing that a Chinese army would be sent to aid the Koreans, despatched reinforcements to the invading troops, and conveyed to the commanders messages of encouragement and exhortation. He was persuaded that the Japenese army would defeat the Chinese, and he believed that in the space of two years the conquest of China might be effected, in which event he purposed transfering the capital of Japan to China. He even went so far as to determine the routine to be followed in the removal of the Japanese Court to China. Kiyomasa now marched northwards to Kamukyandō, where he took a town called Eikyō. Learning there that two Korean Princes were at Kaineifu, he attacked it and took them both prisoners. Continuing his advance, he crossed the northern frontier and entered Orankai, where he destroyed the castle, taking and putting to death a number of Koreans. The impetuosity of his movements and the unvarying suc



The Expedition





The Expeditio



against Corea.



against Corea.

cess of his arms filled the Koreans with consternation. They gave him the name of "Kishōkwan," (*i. e.* the demon general) and fled at the mere news of his approach.

Yukinaga, in the meanwhile, having conquered Heian, the King of Korea retired from Hegushagu and would have entered Kamukyan, but finding that Kiyomasa had already over-run that district, he turned westward to Gishū. Yukinaga marched against Kuimeigen and took Hegushagu, the Japanese troops being everywhere victorious. Things did not fare equally well with the navy, however. The ships sustained several defeats, and their intention of proceeding from Zenra-dō to Kōkai-dō to effect a junction with the army was frustrated by the Korean Commander Li Shunshin, who fought with the utmost tenacity and stoutness. Meanwhile, the Emperor of China, having received intelligence of what was going forward in the peninsula, had despatched from Ap-lok-kong a general named Tso Shing-fon, at the head of a considerable force, to succour the Koreans. Yukinaga encountered this army and completely routed it, the Chinese general barely escaping with his life, the news of which event inspired much alarm in China. Kiyomasa, whose operations had also been attended with uniform success, now directed his forces southwards, and Lien, the King of Korea, in his extremity, once more applied to China for aid. The Chinese Sovereign thereupon commissioned a Minister, Chom Wei-king, to consult with his colleagues as to the advisability of concluding peace with Japan. But among the Chinese Captains there was one Li Chiu, who, having much confidence in his own prowess, insisted that no terms should be offered, and that the war should be prosecuted to the end. Another army was accordingly despatched to Korea under his command,

and marching with rapidity, he soon reached Hegushagu at the head of a great force. There he encountered the Japanese under Yukinaga and defeated them. Yukinaga retired on the Korean capital, whither also the other Japanese general concentrated their troops, the corps under the command of Kobayakawa Takakage alone remaining to guard Kaijō, despite the urgent advice of the other three generals that he too should concentrate his force at the capital. Li, following up his victory, pushed on towards the capital at the head of a large army. Takakage and others encountered the Chinese army at Hekitei-kan, and the divisions of Tachibana Muneshige and Mōri Hidekane fought with such bravery that Li's force was almost exterminated, Li himself barely escaping. Takakage hotly pursued the retreating Chinese, great numbers of whom either fell under the swords of the Japanese or were drowned in attempting to cross rivers. This blow threw the Chinese into a state of disorganization. Li retired into Hegushagu, and remained inactive. Meanwhile, the victorious career of the Japanese had been checked in Chiushū, in attempting to take which place they were repulsed. Moreover, plague broke out in the camp and provisions were exhausted. Under these circumstance the Japanese were not unwilling to listen to proposals of peace made by a Chinese envoy, Chom Wei-king. Hideyoshi dictated seven articles as the basis of a treaty: first, that in order to secure amity between the two empires, a Chinese Imperial Princess should become the consort of Hideyoshi secondly, that permits for commercial intercourse should be sent to Japan; thirdly, that the Ministers of the two countries should exchange a friendly convention; fourthly, that Korea should be divided into halves, one to belong to Japan, and the other, including the four provinces and the

capital, then in Japanese hands, to be restored to Korea; fifthly, that Korea should place in Japan's hands, as pledges of good faith, her Prince Royal and certain Ministers of the Crown; sixthly, that Japan should restore to Korea the two Korean Princes whom she had taken prisoners; and seventhly, that influential Korean subjects should give written promises of submiseion to Japan. The Chinese envoy objected to the two conditions relating to the marriage of a Chinese Princess with Hideyoshi, and to the partition of Korea. Hideyoshi, however, urged him to return to China and report the situation to his Sovereign. Meanwhile, he ordered the Japanese generals to send back the two Korean prisoners, and to renew the attack on Chiushū, pending the conclusion of peace. But, after some further parleying, the Chinese envoy finally refused to comply with Hideyoshi's suggestion, and no answer to Japan's conditions was received from the Chinese Emperor. Hideyoshi, now concluding that peace was impossible, began to make preparations for himself leading an army to attack China. At this juncture the envoy who had been sent to Japan, as well as other Chinese statesmen, suggested to their Emperor that what Hideyoshi really wanted was an Imperial commission appointing him King of Japan. The Chinese Emperor accordingly despatched another envoy to Japan carrying a gold seal and a head-piece specially manufactured for the purpose. In the first year of the *Keichō* era (1596 A.D.), Hideyoshi gave audience to this envoy in the castle at Fushimi, and ordered him to read the documents with which he had come entrusted. The envoy complied, but when he came to the clause where it was stated that the Chinese Government appointed Hideyoshi to be King of Japan, the *Taikō* became greatly enraged. Seizing the document he threw it on the ground, to-

gether with the head-piece, declared that his intention was to become King of China, and that the Chinese Government should learn how little it had to do with the soverignty of Japan. He dismissed the Chinese and Korean envoys, and issued orders for a campaign against China. In February of the following year, the Japanese generals assembled at Nagoya in Hizen, Kiyomasa and Yukinaga being the first to set out for Korea. The Chinese Government, learning that the negotiations had been unsuccessful, sent another army to the peninsula under the command of Ying Kai and Tik Ho.

Meanwhile, the Korean general Li Shunshin had gained several victories over the Japanese forces, and joined by this new army, his strength became very great. Thereupon Kiyomasa fortified his position at Urusan, and there sustained a stubborn seige, the Chinese General Tik Ho's repeated efforts to reduce the place proving abortive. By degrees the provisions within Kiyomasa's lines became exhausted. His men were obliged to eat horse-flesh, and being exposed to the bitter cold of mid-winter many lost their hands from frost-bite. Hearing of the evil plight of their comrades, Toyotomi Hideaki and Mōri Hidemoto marched to the relief of Kiyomasa, and the beseiging army retired without resistance. Kuroda Nagamasa fell on them as they retreated, and being joined by Kiyomasa, the two generals attacked the Chinese with great vehemence and completely routed them. Shimadzu Yoshihiro also defeated a Chinese army at Shinsai and Shinshū. At this juncture the *Taikō* died. On the point of death he issued instructions for the recall of the Japanese army from Korea. This event occurred in the third year of the *Keichō* era (1598 A.D.), and the news

caused great rejoicing in China. The Chinese forces in Korea hung upon the flanks of the Japanese troops as they withdrew, but were so disheartened by the crushing reverse they had just experienced that they did not dare to make any serious attack. The Japanese ships also defeated the Chinese squadron, and were thus enabled to return to Japan unmolested. In the following year, the services of Tokugawa Iyeyasu and the other Japanese generals were duly considered by the Imperial Court in Kyōto, and received adequate recognition. A few years later—in the twelfth year of the *Keichō* era (1607 A.D.), Korea sent an envoy to Japan carrying gifts and suing for peace. The Shōgun, Tokugawa Hidetada, received these overtures favourably, and amicable relation were established between the two countries.

During the closing years of Hideyoshi's life, his adopted son Hidetsugu, in whose favour he had resigned the office of *Kwambaku*, so greatly abused his power that Hideyoshi became indignant and ordered him into retirment in the monastery of Kōya-san, where, shortly afterwards, he received instruction to commit suicide. Hideyoshi bequeathed his rank and titles to his son Hideyori, who was a mere child at the time of his illustrious father's decease. A few hours before his death the great captain and administrator summoned all this generals to his side, and made them swear to protect his youthful successor, appointing Mayeda Toshiiye to the post of guardian. The generals, however, entertained towards each other sentiments of such jealousy and hostility that the old disorders would have been indubitably renewed but for the transcendent ability and prowess of Tokugawa Iyeyasu.

CHAPTER V.

## *Administration of the Edo Shōguns.*

SECTION I.

### *Establishment of the Shōgun's Government.*

We have now to speak of the fifth line of Shōguns, which held adminstrative sway for 255 years, from the eighth year of the *Keichō* era (1603 A.D.), in the reign of the Emperor Goyōzei, to the time of the Imperial Restoration (1868 A.D.); in other words, the interval during which the Tokugawa Family ruled in Edo; a period not far removed from the present; a period during which the feudal system of government attained its most perfect development; a period consequently deserving the closest attention from students of history.

The original name of the Tokugawa Family, was Matsudaira. They were of the same blood as Nitta and Ashikaga and of the line of Seiwa Genji. From the era of the Southern and Northern Dynasties the Tokugawa, generation after generation, espoused the cause opposed to the Ashikaga. Thus, while the power of the Muromachi Shōgunate was supreme, the Tokugawa were relegated to a position of insignificance. Subsequently, they acquired large territorial possessions, and had their seat in Mikawa during eight generations. But being environed by enemies—the Takeda Family in Kai, the Imagawa Family in Suruga and the Ota Family in Owari—they experienced no little difficulty in maintaining themselves. When Iyeyasu was a mere child, he was confined in various places as a surety for his Family's conduct. These experiences may have helped to sharpen his naturally remarkable abilities. At the age



Image of Iyeyasu.



of seventeen he succeeded to the headship of the Family, and as he grew to manhood he gave many evidences of magnanimity and coolness, no less than of strategical skill. Gradually and astutely he encroached upon the neighbouring provinces, taking clever advantage of the disordered state of the country, until finally he obtained possession of all the provinces that had belonged to the Takeda and Imagawa Families, and found himself the strongest chieftain in Tōkaidō, lord of the five provinces of Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Kai and Shinano. In the eighteenth year of the *Tenshō* era (1590 A.D.) when the Taikō had overthrown the Hōjō Family at Odawara, the eight provinces of Kwantō—Sagami, Musashi, Izu, Kazusa, Shimōsa, Kōzuke, Shimotsuke and Hitachi—hitherto held by the Hōjō, were given to Iyeyasu, the *Taikō* receiving in their stead the five provinces previously possessed by Iyeyasu in Tōkaidō; an exchange doubtless suggested to the *Taikō* by the comparative propinquity of the latter five provinces to Kyōtō, the facilities they thus offered for rebellion against the Central Government, and the advisability of relegating to a distant part of the empire a chieftain of such gifts as Iyeyasu exhibited. Having come into possession of these eight provinces, Iyeyasu made his head-quarters at Edo (now Tōkyō.) More than a century previously, Ōta Dōkwan a vassal of the Uyesugi Family, had built a castle in the city, but during the sway of the Hōjō, the castle had been assigned to a Lieut-General only. It was a insignificant dimensions, and the town which it overlooked was touched on three sides by the Musashino plain, its south-eastern front being washed by the sea. The streets, where a million citizens now congregate, were then overgrown with reeds. So soon, however, as Iyeyasu moved to Edo, he inaugurated large improvements, levelling hills,

filling marshes, digging great moats and building colossal parapets, until a site was fully prepared for a great capital.

Iyeyasu, though of indomitable courage in war, was a man of gentle methods. His keen perception showed him every aspect of an affair, and his patience in unravelling difficulties never failed. So long as the reins of administration remained in Hideyoshi's hands, Iyeyasu was quite obedient to him; and as for Hideyoshi he soon appreciated the Tokugawa chief and treated him with all the consideration due to his great gifts. Iyeyasu had large ambition. Coming into possession of the Kwantō provinces, he sat down quietly to foster his strength and bide his time. Hideyoshi, meanwhile, wasting his resources in fruitless attacks upon Korea and thus impairing the prosperity which his transcendent abilities had obtained for him. Finally, before his foreign wars had reached any issue, he died, bequeathing his power to his son, Hideyori, then a lad of only seven. The usual results of a minor's administration ensued. The government fell into disorder. Once more the old rivalry sprang up among the feudal chiefs, each struggling for the supremacy. Above them all towered Tokugawa Iyeyasu, his influence superior even to that of the Toyotomi Family. Gradually the dissentient elements disposed themselves into two great parties. The one, including Katō Kiyomasa, Fukushima Masanori, Kuroda Nagamasa, Asano Yukinaga and other notables, was under the leadership of Iyeyasu. The other, to which belonged Mōri Terumoto, Uyesugi Kagekatsu, Ukida Hideiye, and other forty-three feudal chiefs, hostile to the Tokugawa, was under the real leadership of Ishida Mitsunari, a favourite of the late Hideyoshi, and under the nominal leadership of the *Taikō's* son, Hideyori. The second party had their head-quarters in

the Ōsaka Castle, and the struggle for mastery was finally concluded in a great battle, fought on September 15th in the fifth year of the *Keichō* era (1600 A.D.). Iyeyasu was the assailant. Marching westward at the head of an army of 80,000 men, he encountered Mitsunari's forces, numbering 130,000, on the Sekigahara plain in Mino, the Ōsaka confederates having moved thus far to the combat. Swords were crossed at 8 in morning, and the battle waged with the utmost fierceness for six hours, the Ōsaka army being ultimately defeated with a loss of thirty thousand; and tradition says that the whole plain was red with gore. So decisive was this victory, that other nobles who had espoused the cause of Ishida and were fighting for it in their own districts, now laid down their arms and hastened to come to terms with the victor. Iyeyasu now set himself to consolidate his power. Confiscating, wholly or in part, the estates of the chiefs who had opposed him, he made ample grants to his own supporters. The administrative power of the empire came wholly into his hands, and every part of the country accepted his control. Three years later he was nominated *Sei-i Taishōgun*, and thenceforth, through many generations, his Family ruled in Edo.

Iyeyasu reverted to the administrative system of the Ashikaga Shōguns, which had been interrupted during the supremacy of Ota Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, the *Taikō*; modifying it, however, in various ways. Two years after his nominatian to the post of Shōgun, he ceded that office to his son Hidetada, being doubtless impelled to the act by considerations of administrative policy.

But although the administrative supremacy had been acquired by the Tokugawa, the *Taikō's* son and successor,

Toyotomi Hideyori, still resided at Ōsaka. Possessing a princely income of 650,000 *koku* of rice, ruler of two provinces, Settsu, and Kawachi, old enough now to direct his own affairs, and enjoying the prestige of his renowned father, he wielded a degree of influence which even the Tokugawa Family could not afford to despise. Among Hideyori's adherents there were some who hoped to see him restored to the position his father had occupied, and these, plotting secretly to effect their purpose, found supporters among the feudal chieftains, who, though they had made act of submission to the Tokugawa, still remembered the benefits they had received by Hideyoshi and were fain to succour his son. Thus Ōsaka remained a constant menace to the Tokugawa, who, on their side, watched keenly for some act on the part of the Toyotomi that might furnish a pretext for their overthrow, whereas the adherents of the Toyotomi bitterly jealous of the Tokugawa supremacy and resenting every evidence of it, naturally committed acts of lawlessness and contumacy. Just at this time the Toyotomi Family caused to be re-built a great image of Buddha *(Daibutsu)* which stood in the temple Hōkōji, in Kyōto. The work was completed in the 19th year of the *Keichō* era (1614 A.D.). A bell was cast to commemorate the event, and in its superscription there appeared the two ideographs forming "Iye-yasu." The Tokugawa ruler pretended to be much offended at this. He declared that the obvious intention of the affair was to invoke the curse of heaven on his head, and being strongly supported in this view by learned nobles who espoused his cause, he directed that an inquiry of the strictest nature should be at once instituted in Ōsaka. The Toyotomi Family refusing to submit tamely to this indignity, determined to appeal to the sword, and there flocked to Ōsaka from the provinces some sixty thousand

*Rōnin* (unenrolled military men), who formed themselves into a garrison for the defence of the castle. But the power of Iyeyasu was too great for such a movement to develope large proportions. Intelligence of the designs of the Toyotomi, so far from enlisting the sympathy of the feudal chieftains, led them rather to renew their professions of loyalty to Iyeyasu, and the latter, who had anticipated this, ordered them to march to the conquest of Ōsaka. After the castle had undergone a long siege, peace was temporarily restored, only to be broken again in the following year, when rivalry led the Ōsaka folks to declare war once more. On this occasion the number of Toyotomi partizans who assembled at Ōsaka was far greater than it had been in the preceding year. They were all brave men, resolved to fight to the death. But among such a variously composed host, it was difficult to secure unanimity of opinion or concert in action. Moreover, the moats of the castle having been filled on the conclusion of peace the year before, it had lost its old impregnability and become a scarcely defensive stronghold. Hence, the vast army marshalled under the Tokugawa banners, had little difficulty in taking it by assault. Hideyori and his mother, Yodogimi, threw themselves into the flames of the buring castle, and Ōno Harunaga together with the principal of those who had counselled war, killed themselves out of respect to their lord. The Toyotomi Family was thus finally overthrown, and the power of the Tokugawa completely established. Thenceforth, the country entered upon a long era of peace. The year-period was changed to *Genna*, subsequently called by the people *Genna-Enbu* (the battle-ending era of *Genna*).

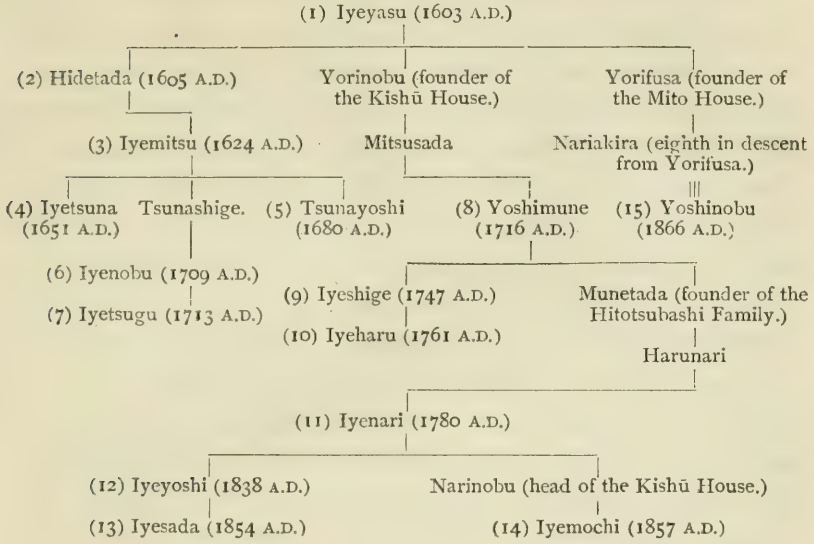
In the following year (1616 A.D.) Iyeyasu fell ill and

died at the age of seventy-five. He was interred at Kunō-zan in Suruga, but his remains were subsequently transferred to Nikko-zan in Shimotsuke, where, amid natural scenery of the greatest beauty, a mausoleum of unexampled magnificence was erected in his honour.

To Iyeyasu belongs the credit of having laid the foundations of a peace that lasted for two and a half centuries. But among his adherents and colleagues there were many whose signal services contributed not a little to the happy result. Notable for the assistance rendered by them in military affairs were Sakai Iyetsugu, Sakakibara Yasumasa, Ii Naomasa and Honda Tadakatsu, while the most conspicuous in administrative affairs were Honda Masanobu, and his son Masazumi. The nobles who gave their allegiance to the Tokugawa after the battle of Sekigahara were called Tozama, the most notable among them being Tōdō Takatora, Ikeda Terumasa, Hayashi Dōshun, a man of wide erudition, and the Priests Tenkai and Sōden also rendered great services to the Administration.

Hidetada, the second Tokugawa Shōgun, devoted his energies to enforcing and observing the laws and precepts of his father. Under him the influence and prestige of the Tokugawa Family increased greatly. Further, the third Shōgun, Iyemitsu, was a man of high courage and magnanimous generosity. In his hands the organization of the Shōgun's government was brought to a state of perfection.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TOKUGAWA SHŌGUNS.




SECTION. II.

*Policy of the Shōgunate.—Relations between the Shōgunate and the Emperor and between the Shōgunate and the other nobles. Organization of the Shōgun's Government.*

The Tokugawa having obtained administrative control, as related in the last section, set themselves to devise measures for securing the possession to their Family through succeeding generations. In pursuance of that object they saw three things demanding close attention: first, to elaborate some system for the effective control of the feudal nobles; secondly, to establish a good understanding with the Imperial Court in Kyōto; and thirdly, to organize the administrative machinery in a skilful and permanent manner.

During many centuries it had been customary for the military classes to own estates and to govern the people residing on them according to feudal methods. In the closing days of the Ashikaga Family, many military families of old standing were ruined, and, on the other hand, not a few soldiers who followed the fortunes of Ota Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi became the founders of new and opulent families. When the Tokugawa came into power, they divided the nobles into two classes. The first were called "Fudai." They comprised the barons who had espoused the Tokugawa cause ftom the time of the latter's residence in Mikawa and Tōtōmi. The second were called "Tozama," that is to say, those who did not give in their adherence until after the battle of Sekigahara. This distinction was intended to define the intimacy existing between the Tokugawa and the other military chiefs. For the rest, the estates of the nobles were fixed according to their exploits at the battle of Sekigahara.

The Shōgun's Government derived its powers primarily from the Emperor and ruled the other nobles under the authority delegated by the Sovereign. Under its direct sway were the eight provinces of Kwantō, whence it derived resources to protect itself, and Kyōto occupied for it the position next in order of political importance, where its chief feudatories were stationed to protect the Imperial Court. Ōsaka was similarly regarded and corresponding provisions were made to secure it. In consideration of the vital importance of preserving uninterrupted communication with the Imperial city, the estates of the barons were so distributed that none of the Tozama class held sway along the line of communications. Further, although the *Fudai* barons were chiefly of the smaller order, they occupied the

most important provinces, and were so distributed that they could easily combine if necessary; whereas the *Tozama* magnates, though ruling great territories, were separated from each other by the *Fudai* barons, and were moreover remotely situated in respect of the important centres of action. For example, the Mayeda Family was the most puissant among the *Tozama* nobles. Its territories extended over the three provinces of Kaga, Noto, and Etchū, and its annual revenues aggregated over a million *koku* of rice, while its prestige and popularity were very high. Hence, a number of *Fudai* barons were located in Echigo, to act for the Tokugawa in case of emergency, and in Echizen also one of the nobles most closely related to the Tokugawa was placed to block the route of the Mayeda to Kyōto. A similar policy was adopted throughout the empire, so that everywhere, at a given instant, the Tokugawa partizans would find themselves in a majority. Places of vantage were also occupied by the Shōgun's adherents. Such was the case with Nagasaki, the most important port of foreign trade; the island of Sado, where valuable gold and silver mines were worked; the shrine of Daijin-gū at Yamada in Ise, the head-quarters of Shintō worship, and so forth. At other places the management of local affairs was entrusted to nominees of the Shōgunate, *Gundai* and *Daikwan*, all of which arrangements operated to prevent any effective union among the *Tozama* nobles.

In the opening years of the Tokugawa administration, an uncompromising policy was pursued. Thus even such a puissant *Tozama* noble as Fukushima Masanori, and such a loyal feudatory as Honda Masazumi who had assisted in the first organization of the Shōgunate, had their estates confiscated by way of punishment for violations of the law;

while Katō Tadahiro (son of Kiyomasa), Katō Akinari, Mogami Yoshitoshi, Ikoma Takatoshi and others were deprived of their territories on the ground of incompetence to govern them. The principle of succession was enforced with special strictness among the *samurai*. If a man died without direct male issue, his family was declared extinct, and were he a noble his estate reverted to the Shogunate. In this way Gamō Tadasato, Horio Tadaharu, Tanaka Tadamasa, Torii Tadatsune, and others were unable to transmit their estates. Subsequently, the severity of this system was modified and adoption began to be permitted, to the great satisfaction of the feudal chiefs and the military class in general. But in the early days the reins of administration were held so unflinchingly that even consanguinity with the Shōgun did not save from condign punishment a nobleman who failed in respect for the law. Thus Matsudaira Tadateru, sixth son of Iyeyasu and lord of Echigo, and Matsudaira Tadanaga, second son of Hidetada and lord of Suruga, were deprived of their possessions for unlawful conduct. Many feudal chiefs were similarly dealt with, and removals from one province to another were a frequent form of punishment. So far, however, as concerned the system of territorial distribution, any deviation from the principles prescribed by Iyeyasu was avoided as much as possible.

The feudal barons, whether large or small and whether their relations with the Shogunate were close or remote, enjoyed the privilege of governing the districts under their control in whatever manner they pleased, entirely independently of the Administration in Edo. This applied to financial, military, judicial, educational, industrial, and all other matters. In short, the system of local autonomy

existed to the fullest extent under Tokugawa rule, the Central Government reserving to itself only the right of declaring war or concluding peace, of coining mony and of repairing or constructing roads. But while, on the one hand, this principle of non-interference was strictly observed by the Government in Edo, any dangerous independence that it might have developed was effectually obviated by another device, namely, that of requiring the sojourn in Edo of every feudal baron at fixed intervals and for a fixed period. This was one of the most remarkable measures conceived by the Tokugawa. The policy itself had been formulated in the time of Iyeyasu, but it did not come into regular operation until the time of the third Shōgun, Iyemitsu, in the twelfth year of the *Kwan-ei* era (1635 A.D.). Each feudal chief was compelled to spend a part of every second year in Edo, the dates of setting out from his province and of leaving Edo on his return journey fixed by the Shōgunate. Nothing could have been simpler than this device; nothing more efficacious in establishing and preserving the Tokugawa sway. Probably no factor in the Tokugawa system contributed more materially to the unprecedented duration of domestic peace throughout two centuries and a half. It was not until the second year of the *Bunkiu* era (1862 A.D.), when the power of the Shōgunate had sensibly declined, that this astute policy was suffered to fall into abeyance. Further, during the first part of the Tokugawa Shogunate the feudal barons were obliged to leave their sons in Edo as pledges of their own good behaviour. This custom was discontinued, however, in the days of the fourth Shōgun, though the rule that the barons wives and children must always reside in the capital was enforced up to within five years of the Restoration. One consequence of the rule was that the feudal lords built mansions for themselves in Edo, some

owning three, some as many as six, of such city residences, their inmates varying from hundreds to thousands. The effect thus produced upon the prosperity of the capital may easily be conceived. It was also the custom under the Tokugawa regimen to prevent undue accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals by ordering conspicuously rich barons to carry out some great public work at their own expense. In fact, no means were neglected to prevent the feudal barons from developing inconvenient strength.

In addition to the above rules, exact and rigidly enforced laws—called *Buke Hatto*, or military statutes —were enacted for observance by feudal chiefs and *Samurai* in general. The first body of such laws was promulgated in the first year of the *Genna* era. It comprised thirteen articles. Subsequently, the laws were re-promulgated on the accession of each Shōgun, sometimes with modifications or additions. The principal provisions of these statutes were :—that attendance in Edo must be as punctual as possible; that no new castles must be built ; that repairs of old ones must not be undertaken without special permission ; that leagues must not be formed ; that marriages must not be contracted without due permission ; that garments must be worn and methods of conveyance employed such as suited the rank of the wearer or traveller, and so forth, these vetoes being supplemented by provisions for encouraging the pursuit of military and literary professions, the practice of frugality and other virtues.

The feudal barons were thus under the effective control of the Tokugawa, but it was necessary for them at the same time to maintain relations of deference with the Imperial

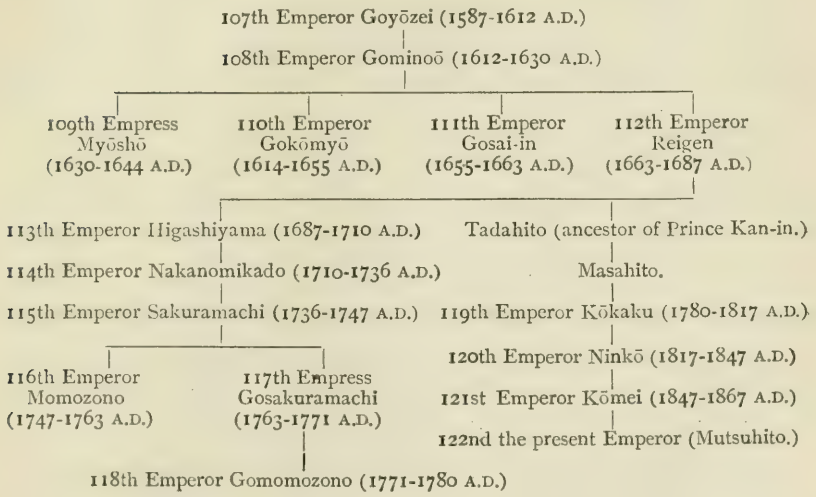
Court in Kyōto. For though the Imperial power was much impaired for a period, especially in the closing years of the Ashikaga Shōgunate, it had been in great part restored by the loyal exertions of Ota Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu adopted the same reverential attitude with even greater zeal, ordering the territorial nobles to build a new palace for the Emperor, making substantial additions to the Imperial domains, and sparing no pains to improve the Sovereign's condition. Considering the deep reverence for the Emperor which had become an instinct with the people, there were obvious administrative advantages in having recourse to Imperial prestige for the purpose of securing obedience to laws or respect for officials holding His Majesty's commission, and the Shōgun's action in repairing the Palace, augmenting the revenues of the Crown and re-establishing ceremonials that had been suffered to lapse, is easily understood. But it was at the same time important for the Shōgun that the exercise of his executive power should not be inconveniently hampered by interference on the part of the Court. Hence, in the same year that saw the promulgation of the statutes called "*Buke Hatto*," for the control of the military class, Iyeyasu compiled a law of seventeen articles destined chiefly for observance by the Court nobles, and entitled "*Kinchū Jōmoku*," or Palace Regulations. In this law we find provisions recapitulating orders issued by the Emperor in the *Kwampiō* era, to the effect that men should study the ancient poetry of Japan, that the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Left and the Minister of the Right should rank above the Princes of the Blood; that the ranks held by Samurai should be considered entirely distinct from those held by Court nobles, and so forth. Men said that this law was designed to augment the prestige

of the Imperial House, but in reality it set limits to the exercise of the Sovereign's authority. The principal official of the Shōgun's Government, the *Shoshidai*, was stationed in Kyōto and entrusted with the duty of supervising the Imperial Court. Moreover, strict regulations were enacted to control the journeys of the feudal nobles to and from Kyōto. In a word, the policy of the Shōgunate was to preserve the fullest semblance of reverence for the Sovereign simultaneously with the fullest administrative independence. The Imperial Court was organized in Kyōto with all pomp and circumstance; it had its Ministers, Vice-Ministers and subordinate officials; it had its five principal, as well as more than a hundred ordinary, Court nobles; but as for the Sovereign's actual power, it did not extend beyond the direction of matters relating to rank and etiquette, the classification of shrine-keepers, priests and priestesses, and professionals of various kinds—in a word functions of no material importance whatever. Alone the *Kwampaku*, and the *Tensō* exercised a certain measure of authority in conjunction with the Shōgun's Government. The control of affairs relating to lands, to the army, to finance, and to everything included in the domain of practical politics rested absolutely in the hands of the Shōgun.

This state of affairs greatly mortified the Emperor Gominoo, a Sovereign of much talent, who reigned during the *Genna* era. He would fain have effected some change in the system, but he found himself helpless to accomplish anything against the all-powerful Tokugawa. An additional check to such designs was given by the marriage of Kazuko, daughter of the second Shōgun Hidetada, to the Emperor, the offspring of the union, a daughter, subsequently coming to the Throne as the Empress Myōshō.

This close relalionship with the Imperial Family on the female side naturally increased the prestige of the Tokugawa. Subsequently Gokōmyō, Gosai-in and Reigen, sons of the Emperor Gominoo, ascended the Throne successively, and Gokōmyō cherished the design of achieving his father's ambition. But he died without accomplishing anything and the times remained hostile to the Imperial aspirations until the *Meiji* era.

TABLE SHOWING CHRONOLOGY AND LINEAGE OF EMPERORS.




With regard to the organization of the Shōgun's Government and the laws and customs of the Tokugawa Dynasty, the systems and statutes were elaborated, for the most part, under Iyeyasu and Hidetada, and were brought to a state of virtual completion in the days of the third Shōgun Iyemitsu, final additions and modifications being made by Yoshimune. The Cabinet, called *Goyōbeya*, held its

sessions in the Edo castle, and was composed of *Tairō*, *Rōjiu* and *Wakadoshiyori*. The *Tairō* corresponded with the Prime Minister *(Dajō Daijin)* of the *Taihō* Code; it was an office sometimes actually filled, sometimes left without occupant. The *Rōjiu* were five; their functions were the general direction of administrative affairs, of the feudal barons and of the Court in Kyōto. The *Wakadoshiyori* were also five; their functions were to assist in the administration and to supervise the *Samurai* directly connected with the Shōgunate. The posts in the Cabinet were given invariably to *Fudai* nobles, the *Tozama* barons being entirely excluded. Next in importance were the offices of the three Governors *(Bugyō)*, the Senior and Junior Supervisors *(Metsuke)* and so forth. One of the three Governors was called the *Jisha Bugyō*, and was charged with the management of temples, shrines, and *Shintō* and Buddist priests. Another, the *Machi Bugyō*, had control of municipal and mercantile matters in Edo; and the third, the *Kanjō Bugyō*, had to do with all the lands in the direct possession of the Shōgunate. These three Governors had judicial functions also, being required to hear and determine all suits connected with matters falling within their respective provinces. There were two *Kanjō Bugyō*, namely, the *Kujikata* and the *Kattekata*. Of these the former had to sit in Court in conjunction with the *Jisha Bugyō* and the *Machi Bugyō*, for the purpose of judging matters that lay within the purview of all the Governors as well as affairs of primary moment. The latter, the *Kattekata*, had to discharge financial duties in conjunction with the *Kattekata* of the *Rōjiu*. In addition to duties of general supervision, the *Metsuke* were charged with the superintendence of special classes, the *Ōmetsuke* being entrusted with the function of keeping watch on the

feudal barons and on officials below the rank of *Rōjiu*, in conjunction with the *Rōjiu*; while the *Metsuke*, similarly cō-operating with the *Wakadoshiyori*, had to superintend the *Samurai* who were direct vassals of the Shōgun, as well as the *Samurai* in general. Attached to the above-mentioned pricipal officials there was a duly ordered staff of subordinates, the whole constituting the organization of the Central Government. Posts inferior to those of the three Governors were generally filled by *Hatamoto* (banneret). Turning to local officers, we find the *Shoshidai*, or Governor, in Kyōto, entrusted with the supervision of the Imperial Court, and the *Ōsaka-Jōdai*, or Lord Warden of Ōsaka Castle. These two officials had general charge of affairs in the Western provinces, in addition to the duties of their special offices. They were selected from among the *Fudai* barons, and their post was usually a stepping stone to the important position of *Rōjiu*. Further, in Nijō of Kyōto there was a *Zaiban Shihai*, or controller of the guards; in Ōsaka, a *Jōban Shihai*, or controller of the castle guards, and in Sumpu, Kōfu, and so forth, there were *Jōban Shihai*, or *Kinban Shihai*, performing functions similar to those of the Kyōto and Ōsaka *Shihai*. *Gundai* and *Daikwan*, governors of lands under the direct control of the Shōgun, were regarded as officials of great importance, and were selected by the Shōgun from among the bannerets. Further, in the city of Edo there were *Machidoshiyori*, or Wardmasters, *Nanushi*, or mayors, and so forth, while in provincial towns and villages there were *Nanushi* who managed municipal affairs and *Kumigashira* who assisted *Nanushi*.

SECTION III.

*Foreign Intercourse and the Foreign Trade.*

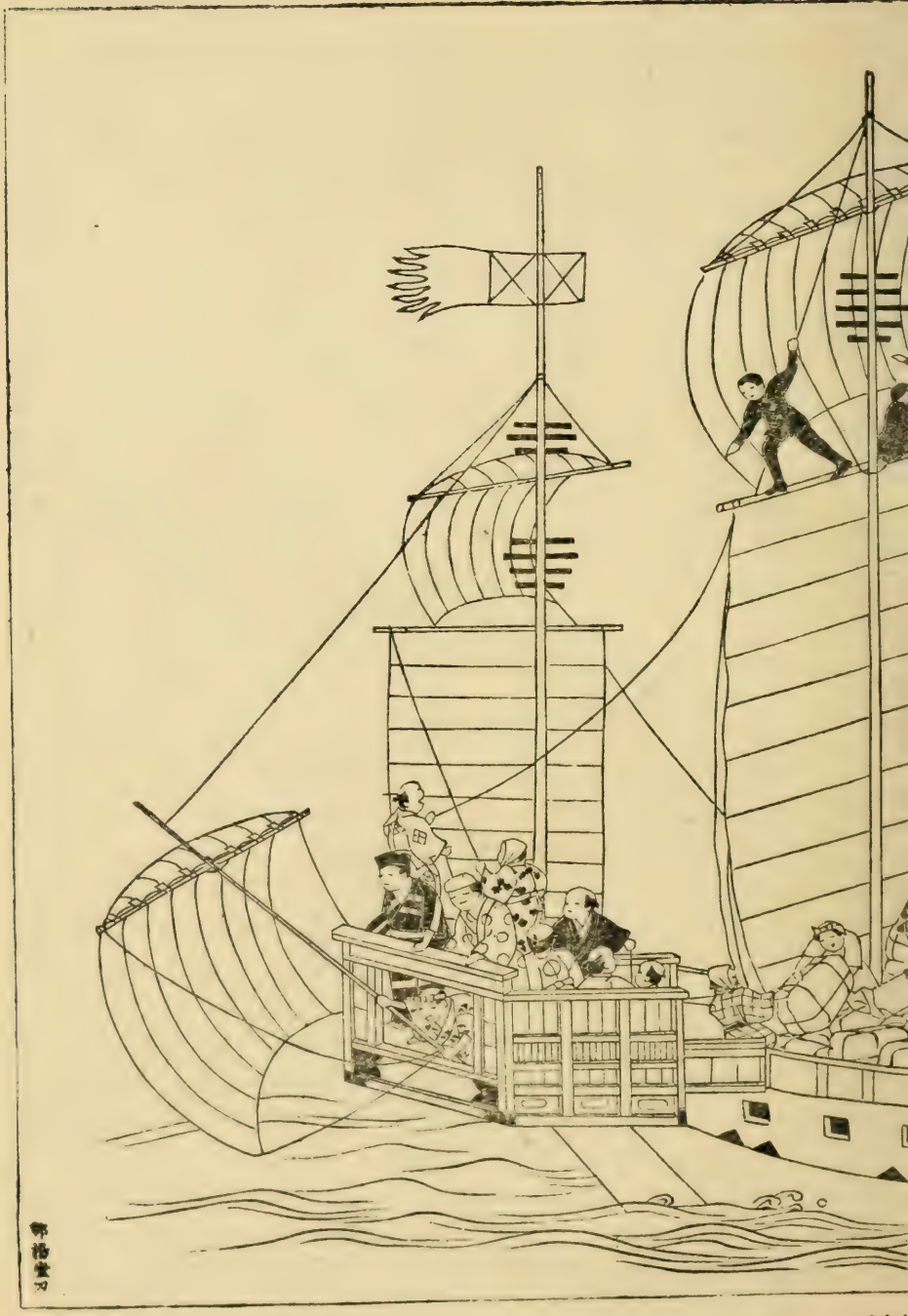
It has been shown in the preceding pages that intercourse existed between Japan and China and Japan and Korea from a remote period. As for Korea, however, the terrible reverses suffered by its people at the time of Hideyoshi's invasion, inspired such hatred for the Japanese that the relations between the two countries were virtually severed. Iyeyasu, indeed, holding it for Japan's advantage from a commercial point of view that intercourse should exist with the peninsula, made proposals in that sense through Sō Yoshitomo, Governor of Tsushima, but at first these overtures met with no success. Iyeyasu was not deterred, however. He sent repeated embassies to Korea, restored prisoners that had been led captive at the time of the *Taikō's* invasion, and took pains to make the Koreans understand that the Japan of the Tokugawa differed essentially from the Japan of the Toyotomi. Finally the Koreans, having obtained the tacit consent of China, sent to Japan a letter from their King together with some presents, and thenceforth, on each occasion of a change of Shōgun, Korean envoys came to offer their country's congratulations, the Tokugawa, on their side, treating these delegates with all courtesy and consideration. In the days of the Ashikaga Family, it had been customary for the Shōgun to assume the title of King of Japan in his communications with other sovereigns. The Tokugawa discontinued this, on the ground that it was an infraction of the Imperial dignity, and adopted instead the title *Taikun*, or great prince. The Sō Family of Tsushima acted from generation to generation as intermediaries between Japan and Korea. They had a monopoly of the trade with the latter country, whither

they despatched twenty vessels annually, the total value of the trade being however limited. But though Korea thus accepted Japan's amicable overtures, China would not do so. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of her south-eastern parts came to Nagasaki in great numbers for purposes of commerce, and many Japanese ships crossed to the neighbouring empire with the same object. These ships, having special permits from the Shōgun, were called *Shuinbune*, or vermilion-seal vessels. They were owned by wealthy merchants residing in or near Kyōto, Sakai and Nagasaki.

The Portuguese, as stated in a previous chapter, were the first among Western people to establish commercial intercourse with Japan, and they held a monopoly of the trade for some time, insomuch so that the Dutch settlers in India and in islands to the southward of Japan, who would fain have entered into commerce with the Japanese, were for a time unable to do so. Finally, however, in the second year of the *Keichō* era (1596 A.D.), they managed to make their way to Hirado in the province of Hizen, in order to arrange the preliminaries of a commerce destined to continue for a long time. Among the persons who arrived in the Dutch ships were a Dutchman named Jan Joost and an Englishman William Adams, the latter coming in the capacity of pilot. These two foreigners had an interview with Iyeyasu, who, much pleased with them, conceived the idea of trading with Western countries. Houses and lands were given to the two strangers, and they resided in Edo, the streets now known as Yayosugashi and Anjinchō being the places where they are said to have lived. The Dutch conceived the design of monopolizing the trade with Japan, and to that end came over in

a vessel of war, their project being to expel the Portuguese merchants. They brought with them an autograph letter and presents from the King of Holland for the Shōgun, and solicited permission to carry on commerce, to which Iyeyasu readly acceded. In the seventeenth year of the *Keichō* era (1612 A.D.) the first Dutch merchantmen arrived in Japanese waters and was soon afterwards followed by a British ship, the coming of the latter being due to information furnished by William Adams to his country with reference to the state of affairs in Japan. Iyeyasu placed no obstacles in the way of the British trade, but the relations between the Dutch and the English at Hirado were so bad that at one time they were on the point of resorting to open hostilities. The Dutch finally prevailed upon the Shōgun to impose as many restrictions as possible on the trade of the English, and the result was that although the friction between the British and the Dutch was ostensibly removed, the former, finding themselves unable to carry on business profitably, finally took their departure. About this time great numbers of merchants came to Japan from Annam, Siam, Luzon, and other places of the south, as well as from the southern districts of China and from India, while on the Japanese side wealthy traders of Kiushū travelled abroad to a great extent for business purposes, and Iyeyasu himself went so far as to despatch people across the Pacific to New Spain (America) in order to open commercial relations. The Japanese at that era possessed very strongly constructed vessels, measuring as much as 120 feet by 54, fully rigged with three masts, having dark-red lacquered hulls and capable of carrying a great number of passengers. In these ships were exported copper, bronze utensils, lacquered article, umbrellas, fans, screens, sulphur, camphor, dyed textile fabrics, wheat flour





Sueyoshi-



ne (a merchant ship).



and so forth, and on their return voyage they brought to Japan silk cocoons, silk fabrics, woollen stuffs, sugar, drugs, incense, vermilion, quicksilver, glass, coral, whale-bone and so forth. Foreign trade flourished greately and a spirit of enterprise prevailed throughout the country. Date Masamune, feudal chief of Sendai, sent an envoy to Rome who came back eventually to Japan, having devoted seven years to studying the state of affairs in Rome, where he was received in audience by the Pope. During the administration of the second Shōgun—about the era of *Genna* (1615-1623 A.D.), one Yamada Nagamasa (or Nizaemon), a native of Suruga, crossed to Siam, and organizing a force with the Japanese settlers in that country—who had already become sufficiently numerous to people a village, hence called *Nippon-Machi*—rendered material assistance to the King of the country, twice quelling a rebellion that prevailed at the time. This same Yamada, fighting always for Siam, led his troops against an invading army of Spaniards and defeated them, an exploit regarded with the greatest admiration at that era when the prestige of the Spanish arms was at its highest. The King rewarded Yamada by adopting him into the royal family and giving him his own daughter in marriage, so that the Japanese adventurer's name became widely renowned. An enterprise scarcely less noteworthy was achieved by Tsuda Matazayemon, a native of Nagasaki, in the beginning of the *Kwanyei* era (1624-1643 A.D.), and another example of the adventurous spirit of the age was afforded by Hamada Yahei, who led a considerable force to Formosa, to avenge the plunder of a Japanese ship by the natives, and having over-run the island, brought back the son of the chief as a hostage to Nagasaki.

Unfortunately, however, unexpected religious squabbles

fatally interrupted the course of the country's foreign trade. The Dutch settlers made a discovery, real or pretended, that the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries, leaguing themselves with the Japanese Christians, were plotting to overthrow the Japanese Government. Many proofs of the truth of this accusation were submitted to the Shōgun by the Dutch, and colour was lent to the charge by evidence that the missionaries themselves or their converts behaved with much intolerance and arrogance. The Suōgun's Administration was moved by these accusations and by the doings of the missionaries to take active steps against them. Several of the principal were put to death and the rest were expelled. Shortly afterwards, an order was issued against the voyages of the *Shuin-bune*, spoken of above, and it was further declared unlawful to construct ships of more than a certain size, while, at the same time, the method of construction was so modified that distant voyages became impossible. Travel to foreign countries was also strictly interdicted, and as a necessary consequence the arts of ship-building and navigation sensibly declined. At this epoch, too, the Christian rebellion of Shimabera occurred, culminating in the battle of Amakusa. In its sequel the entry of all foreign ships, except those of China and Holland, into Japanese ports was peremptorily forbidden. Neither the Chinese nor the Dutch entertained any idea of religious propagandism. Their unique purpose was commercial. Hence the exemption made in their favour and the confidence with which they were treated by the Shōgun's Government. The Dutch, indeed, having shown a disposition to assist Japan in every way, enjoyed great credit with the Japanese, as will be more fully set forth in the next Section. At first no restrictions were imposed on the commercial transactions of the Chinese and the Dutch,

but subsequently a limit was set to the volume of the transactions and to the number of ships engaged in the trade, and the prices at which imported articles must be offered for sale were also determined officially. These restrictions were suggested by the fact that the trade involved a heavy drain of the precious metals. Indeed, the quantity of gold and silver exported from Japan during the interval between the inauguration of foreign commerce and the imposition of the above restriction was so large that Japan's resources were seriously impaired. Hence it was found necessary to strictly interdict the shipping away of the precious metals, but there is strong reason to doubt whether the interdict effected much, for foreigners, disregarding the laws of Japan, contrived to carry on clandestine commerce in waters beyond the purview of the Government's officials.

## SECTION IV.

### *Insurrection of the Christian Converts.—The Question of Religion.*

On the accession of Iyemitsu, the third Tokugawa Shōgun, he summoned to the Palace in Edo all the *Tozama* Barons, and addressed them as follows:—"Our ancestor having been originally of the same rank with yourselves and having been enabled to pacify the country through your assistance, was prompted by a sentiment of deference to refrain from classing you with the *Fudai* Barons. But I differ from my ancestor in the fact that I was born to the position which he acquired. It is therefore my intention to place you on the same footing as the *Fudai* Barons, since I am under no obligation to preserveany distinction. Should

this resolve be displeasing to any of you, an interval of three years will now be given you. During that time, it is expected that you will consider the matter maturely in your own dominions and come to a final decision." Then, adding that the creed of the *Samurai* was to guard with weapons of war the things acquired by such means, he presented to each of the Barons a sword. This injunction of the Shōgun evoked no dissent. The Barons acquiesced respectfully, and the Shōgun's Government being now established on a firm basis, tranquillity and a sense of security prevailed throughout the empire. But this happy state of affairs was disturbed in the fourteenth year of the *Kwanyei* era (1637 A.D.) when there occurred in Kiushū a serious insurrection, known in history as the Shimabara Rebellion, or the Amakusa War. At the time of the first introduction of Christianity into Japan, it spread very rapidly throughout the Empire, receiving no check until the arrogance and intolerance of the missionaries provoked the anger of Hideyoshi and induced him to issue an edict forbidding the propagandism of the foreign faith. This law, however, was not rigorously enforced, and moreover official attention was shortly afterwards diverted from the Christians to the war with Korea. Thus things remained *in statu quo* until the administrative power came into the hands of Iyeyasu, and he, being assured by investigation that the spread of Christianity tended to foster a spirit of intolerance and to provoke sectarian quarrels, took measures to put an end to it. For that purpose he expelled the foreign missionaries from Japan and deputed Buddhist priests to reconvert the Japanese who had embraced the Christian creed, the efforts of these priests being re-inforced by an edict that all who refused to abjure Christianity should be either exiled or put to death. But it appeared that many of the Japanese Christians

had adopted the new faith with such sincerity and devotion that neither teaching nor threats could shake their steadfastness. Above all, in the provinces of Bungo and Hizen, where even the feudal barons themselves had become converts to the Western creed, such large numbers of the people were professing Christians, and so zealous was their attitude, that these districts were virtually Christian in their entirety, and were moreover the sources whence the forces of propagandism made themselves felt elsewhere. Shimabara, in Hizen, was especially regarded as the head-quarters of the foreign faith, and the Shōgun accordingly nominated as feudal chief of that place Matsukura Shigemasa, a bitter foe to Christianity. Shigemasa quickly showed his resolve to root out the strange religion. He issued strict proclamations against its profession, and inflicted most cruel punishments on its votaries. The people suffered in silence. Shigemasa's military following was so great that resistance offered no hope whatever. But when, on Shigemasa's death, his son Shigetsugu succeeded him, popular discontent began to take a concrete form. For the new Baron lacked the administrative ability and military skill of his father, and nevertheless imposed crushing taxes on the people, subjecting them, at the same time, to all kinds of oppression. Gradually the doctrine of combination for open resistance found preachers. Among the generals on the defeated side in the battle of Sekigahara had been one Konishi Yukinaga, an ardent believer in Christianity. After the battle his principal retainers retired to the island of Amakusa off the coast of Hizen. Among them the most influential, Ōyano, Senzoku, Mori and others, constantly sought means to be revenged on the Tokugawa and to promote the spread of Chirstianity. They found a youth

named Masuda Shirō who to remarkable graces of person added a mind of great craftiness, and they presented him to the people, alleging that he was the heavenly messenger of whom Francis Xavier had spoken twenty-five years previously when leaving Japan, and who was destined to establish the supremacy of the Christian faith everywhere. They also spread rumours that the Shōgun had died in Edo, and the people, much encouraged by these things, assembled in great number and openly offered thanksgivings to heaven. The officials in Shimabara endeavoured to disperse this meeting and to arrest the leaders, but a contest ensued in which the Christians remained victorious, and the result of their success was that the insurrection spread throughout Shimabara, Amakusa and the neighbouring districts. The insurgents numbered over thirty thousand, and were under the command of Masuda Shirō. At first the Shōgun's Government regarded the rebels as a mere mob of peasants, and despatched a petty baron, Itakura Shigemasa, to restore order. But Itakura's inability to cope with the trouble having afforded a gauge of its true dimensions, the commission was given to Matsudaira Nobutsuna, a powerful Rōjiu. The insurgents fought with desperate resolution and inflicted numerous defeats on the Government's troops, Shigemasa himself falling in battle. But the end came at last. In the second month of the fifteenth year of *Kwanyei* (1638 A.D.) the stronghold of the rebels was taken, and its defenders were either burned in the flames kindled by their own hand or put to the sword.

This experience taught the Government that the spread of Christianity was attended with the gravest dangers to public tranquillity. Strict laws were therefore enacted for its suppression. Foreigners who came to Japan for the

purpose of propagating the faith were refused admission, and those who declined to depart despite the edicts were put to death. Thenceforth Buddhism was adopted as the national religion, receiving the allegiance of all classes, high and low. It was enacted that births, deaths and marriages must be registered in books kept by the priests, and the status of Buddhism thus received powerful recognition.

A radical change in the methods of taking the census was introduced at this epoch, much greater strictness and exactness being observed than had previously been the case, and the whole thing being placed on a religious basis. Coming to the time of Yoshimune, the eighth Tokugawa Shōgun (1716 A.D.), we find a regulation that the census should be taken and the results duly reported every six years. In each fief officials were duly appointed to take charge of matters relating to the census. They were required to conclude their labours within a certain period, and the operation was called *Shiumon-aratame*, or the examination of religious sects. All these things contributed materially to the influence of the Buddhist priests, for whom the era of the Tokugawa sway was a time of marked prosperity. Nevertheless, the Government was careful to avoid anything tending to the excesses of former days. The building of new temples was fosbidden ; the lands assigned for the support of those already in existence were rigidly defined, and the people were encouraged to study Chinese literature. Thus the corruption that disfigured the Buddhist priesthood in earlier ages was, in great part, corrected. Chief among the sects of Buddhism that flourished at that epoch were the *Hossō*, the *Shingon*, the *Ritsu*, the *Ji*, the *Yūzū-nenbutsu*, the *Tendai*, the *Jōdo*, the *Zen*, the *Nichiren*, and the *Shin* or the *Ikkō ;* among which the

*Shin* was most popular and prosperous, next in order coming the *Zen*, the *Jōdo*, the *Tendai*, the *Nichiren* and the *Shingon*, the others being comparatively uninfluential. The number of temples throughout the empire aggregated four hundred thousand.

Attention must also be directed to the changes that overtook the affairs of the Shintō faith during the same epoch. The term "Shintō," as will have been seen from what has already been written, had its origin when Buddhism began to spread in Japan, and was employed to distinguish the original creed of the country from the creed carried thither from Korea and China. But from the time of the two *Daishi*, Dengyō and Kōbō, the priests, doubtless influenced by reasons of policy, applied the doctrine of the Shingon sect of Buddhism, for the most part, to expound Shintoism, and even the educated classes believed in the compound creed thus enunciated, so that it obtained wide vogue under the name "*Ryōbu Shintō*," or the "combined way of heaven." From time immemorial the department of State (*Jingi-Kwan*), entrusted with the management of Shintō affairs, had been presided over by the Shirakawa Family, which traced its descent from the Emperor Kwasan. This department took charge of festivals and had control of the Shintō priests in all the provinces. But during the Ashikaga Shogunate, the Yoshida (or Urabe) Family attained great influence in the sphere of religion, and when the Tokugawa came into power, this Family was appointed to the Vice-Ministry of the *Jingi-kwan*, where it exercised authority superior even to that of the Shirakawa themselves, directing all matters connected with festivals and with the appointment or removal of Shintō

officials. The Yoshida Family were further instrumental in establishing a new branch of Shintō, the *Yuiitsu Shintō* whose functions were connected solely with ceremonies of worship and festivals. Neither the *Ryōbu Shintō* nor the *Yuiitsu Shintō* had any special doctrinal basis of its own. The sphere of both alike was virtually limited to rituals and religious observance. But a change was effected in the *Kwambun* era (1661-1672 A.D.) when Watarae Enka, a Shintō priest of Ise, and Yamasaki Ansai, a Kyōto student of Chinese literature, together with others, expounded the Shintō creed by means of the doctrine of 5 elements in the *E-king*, or of the philosophical doctrines of the Chinese *Sung* sages. The Shintō creed thus came to possess definite principles of its own. Soon afterwards, such scholars as Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane appeared, and taught a new doctrine, founded purely on nationalistic principles, namely, that the world had been created by the deities of Japan. The priests of present-day Shintoism belong, for the most part, to the sect established by Motoori and Hirata. They preach, pray and concern themselves with ritualistic matters, so that their practice invests them with the character of a religious body.

## SECTION V.

### *The Genroku Era (1688-1703 A.D.)—Literature.—Education.—Finance.*

Iyemitsu, the third Shōgun, being a man of more than ordinary ability, and having the assistance of such able Ministers as Ii Naotaka, Doi Toshikatsu, Sakai Tadakatsu, Matsudaira Nobutsuna, Abe Tadaaki, and so forth, his

administration was thoroughly efficient, and the empire enjoyed under his rule complete tranquillity broken only by the Christian insurrection of Shimabara. It is true that feuds sometimes occurred between the sons of territorial magnates by their lawful wives and their sons by concubines, as well as between their officers of influence and experience. But these were petty affairs, not constituting any real break of the uniform peace that prevailed. It is also to be noted of this era that the feudal barons followed the example of the Shōgun in selecting men of light and learning to administer the affairs of their fiefs, a tendency which contributed not a little to the general good order. Thus Ikeda Mitsumasa, Lord of Bizen, appointed Kumazawa Hakkei, whose literary name was Banzan, to be his chief officer, and Yamanouchi Tadatoyo, Lord of Tosa, adopted a similar course with Nonaka Yoshitsugu (Kenzan).

On the death of Iyemitsu and the succession of Iyetsuna, the 4th Shōgun (in the third year of the *Kcian* era, 1750 A.D.) Yui Shōsetsu and Marubashi Chūya, two military captains not attached to any feudal baron, collected a great number of *Rōnin* (unattached *Samurai*) in Suruga and in Edo, their project being to raise the standard of revolt simultaneously in the west and in the east. Their attempt was unsuccessful, but its failure did not deter two other *Rōnin*, Bekki Shōzaemon and Hayashi Toyemon, from plotting a similar insurrection in Edo the following year. They, too, were discovered and punished before their plans matured. Thereafter, for a time, owing doubtless to the fact that the feudal barons being too frequently deprived of their estates, their vassals found themselves homeless and resourceless, the peace of the

country was broken here and there by bands of *Rōnin*. These troubles, however, were speedily dealt with.

Iyetsuna's Shogunate lasted thirty years, and towards its close the *Tairō*, Sakai Tadakiyo, acquired so much influence that the authority of the Shōgun himself was somewhat impaired. When, however, the brave and resolute Tsunayoshi, fifth Shōgun, succeeded Iyetsuna, Tadakiyo was released from the office of *Tairō*, and Hotta Masatoshi, a statesman of great acumen, was appointed in his stead. The Shōgun and his ministers alike devoted themselves unwearyingly to promote the welfare of the country. This era is worthy of close attention. We find, among other things, that the Shōgun greatly encouraged the study of literature. Tokugawa Iyeyasu, though essentially a soldier and statesman, fully appreciated the importance of literature, and understood what an indispensable factor it is in encouraging the pursuit of virtue and promoting the peace of society. Even when his hands were occupied fully with campaigns and battles, he did not fail to invite to his fief great savants, such as Fujiwara Shuku, (Seigwa) and to have courses of lectures delivered by them on the Chinese classics. Soon afterwards he granted a perpetual annuity to Hayashi Dōshun, a pupil of Seigwa—and throughout the era of warfare that preceded his Shogunate he caused his officers to collect and reprint valuable books that would otherwise have been lost to the nation. His efforts in promoting and encouraging literature were unquestionably great. His three successors followed his example in this respect. But it was the fifth Shōgun, Tsunayoshi, who above all contributed to the spread of literary pursuits. Devoted from his youth to the study of the Chinese classics, he made a habit, after his succession, of

delivering lectures to the feudal barons, *Samurai*, Shintō and Buddhist priests, and it may well be supposed that this action gave a great impetus to literary pursuits. He appointed Nobuatsu, grandson of Dōshun, to the post of Professor of Chinese Literature. Prior to this time, it had been customary with military men to neglect the study of reading and writing. Such occupations were abandoned to the priests, and it resulted that, even after the conclusion of the wars, men having a predilection for literature generally drifted into the ranks of the priests. The fifth Shōgun Tusnayoshi required such persons not to adopt the tonsure or to give up their position as *Samurai*. The Hayashi Family were a case in point. The title of "Professor" was transmitted in the family from generation to generation, and they presided over affairs relating to literature. A school founded by them, at first in the character of a private establishment, was afterwards taken under Government protection, and grew into a institution of much importance under the name of the *Shōhei-kō* When we speak of the literature of these days, we mean Chinese literature of the Confucian School, of the *Sung* Dynasty. Prior to the time, Kumazawa Hakkei, a learned minister of the Bizen clan, following in the footsteps of Nakai Tōju, a savant of Ōmi, had studied the philosophy of Wong Yeng-ming. Thereafter, during a period of fifty-years, Itō Jinsai and his son Tōgai, stood at the head of those who taught in Kyōto the paths of the ancient literature, a similar function being performed in Edo by Butsu Shorai and his pupil Dazai Shuntai. These great literati of the east and the west attained wide-spread reputation, and were counted masters of the Han and Tang philosophies which they expounded. At the head of students of practical affairs stood Kinoshita Junnan, whose pupils, Arai

Hakuseki and Muro Kiusō, played an important part in the administration of the sixth and eighth Shōguns. So far was the study of Chinese literature carried by the Japanese of the time, that some of their publications in that line elicited the hearty approval of the Chinese themselves. In a word, the Edo epoch may be described as the golden era of Chinese literature in Japan. Unfortunately this record is marred by disputes that sprang up among the different schools of philosophy, disputes so acute that the study of literature was prostituted to the business of sarcasm, abuse, and slander, some of the acrimonious disputants even going so far as to condemn the literature of the *Sung* Dynasty without any consciousness of their own inferior attainments. With the view of putting an end to this evil state of affairs, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Minister of Iyenari, eleventh Shōgun, interdicted the appointment to office of any person who adopted commentaries other than those of Shushi. To this prohibition men gave the name of *Igakuno-kin*, or the forbidding of strange learning. The measure produced an appreciable influence on the literature of the country. But at a later date schools of philosophy known as the *Kōshō-gaku* (the study of evidence) and *Setchūgaku* (the study of eclecticism) made their appearance.

Literature and education being thus cared for by the Central Government, the feudal barons followed the Shōgun's example, and established schools in their respective fiefs. Noteworthy among these schools—which went by the general name of "*Hangaku*" or clan schools—were the *Kōjōkwan* in Yonezawa, the *Yōkendō* in Sendai, the *Seitokushoin* in Sakura, the *Meirindō* in Nagoya, the *Gakkwan* in Okayama, the *Meirinkwan* in Hagi, the *Kōdōkwan* in Saga, the *Jishūkwan* in Kumamoto,

the *Zōshikwan* in Kagoshima, and so forth. The most distinguished among the pupils of these Schools were selected and sent to the *Shōhei-kō*, established under the auspices of the Shōgunate, for purposes of further study. Classics, Chinese and Japanese history, poetry and composition were the subjects of study in all these schools. There were also many private schools of a similar scope; and for the instruction of the children of farmers, merchants, and artizans in reading, writing, and arithmetic, almost every temple organized an institution called *Tera-Koya*. During the Tokugawa dynasty, not only did Chinese literature receive profound attention, but also a kind of dramatic versification called Jōruri, and the writing of novels were in great vogue. Notably popular was the drama of Chikamatsu Monzayemon. In the sphere of *Haikai* (another kind of Japanese poetry), Bashō and his ten chief pupils attained much celebrity, and among novel-writers Kyokutei Bakin, Riutei Tanehiko, and Shikitei Samba were known and read throughout the empire. No Japanese writer of verses has ever stood on the same level as Chikamatsu in the line of the Drama, and Bashō in that of the *Haikai*. These two men are known as the *Bungaku* (literati) of the *Genroku* era (1688-1703 A.D.).

At a somewhat earlier date than that just spoken of, Mitsukuni, representative of the second generation of the Mito Baron, grandson of Iyeyasu, was a distinguished scholar and munificent patron of literature. He was known among students as "Gikō," and he established in his Edo mansion a histriographical bureau, where, under his direction, a number of savants undertook the compilation of the history of Japan from the days of the Emperor Jimmu. This work required many years for its completion. It consisted of

243 volumes, and was called the "*Dai-Nippon-shi.*" It stands at the head of Japanese histories, the second in order being the "*Honchō-tsugan*" (300 volumes), compiled under the direction of Hayashi by order of the Shōgun's Government. In the same category may be placed the "*Fusōshū-yōshū*" (30 volumes) of Mitsukuni, and the "*Reigiruiten*" (510 volumes) of the same author. It will thus be seen that students of literature, history, and poetry were very numerous in the Edo Epoch. In addition to those already enumerated we may mention Shimokōbe Chōriu, Keichū, a priest, and Kitamura Kigin, who were followed by Kada Adzumamaru, Kamo Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga, Hanawa Hokiichi, and others. Of historical publications, the above list may be supplemented by the *Kwansei Chōshū Shokafu* (1,053 volumes), the *Chōya Kyūbunhōkō* (1,083 volumes), the *Tokugawa Jikki* (516 volumes), and others. There was also a large work on botany called *Shobutsuruisan* (1,054 volumes). Hanawa Hokiichi, a renowned scholar, though blind, made a business of collecting old and rare works, as the *Gunsho Ruijū* (1,821 volumes). Arai Hakuseki was the author of over three hundred books on classics, history, and law. The novels of Kyokutei Bakin aggregated more than two hundred. And in addition there were numerous works by less prolific students. On the whole, the Tokugawa period was the golden era of Japanese literature.

When Tsunayoshi was Shōgun, not only did literary pursuits attract wide attention, but scientific study also found followers. Thus Yasui Santetsu served under the Government in the capacity of astronomer, and showed himself a skilled calculator and compiler of almanacks. He abolished the *Senmei-reki* almanack, which contained

several errors, and substituted for it the *Jiōkiō-reki*. In matters of Shintō erudition, Yoshikawa Koretaru, and in the field of painting, Sumiyoshi Hirozumi, were patronized liberally by the Government, as were many others conspicuous for their talents or accomplishments. It was indeed an age abounding in capable men, though in some respects its suffers by comparision with periods that preceded it. For example, the Shōgun Tsunayoshi (fifth Shōgun) unduly promoted Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, a man of humble origin, and treated him with unbecoming favour. Peace had then lasted for eighty years, and both the Government and the people had begun to fall into luxurious and extravagant ways, so that, for the first time in the history of the Tokugawa, the Government found itself straitened for funds. The total revenue of the empire derived from land amounted at the epoch to 30,000,000 *koku*, of which 23,000,000 *koku* belonged to the feudal barons, and 3,000,000 *koku* to the bannerets, shrines, and temples, the remaining 4,000,000 representing the income the Shōgun's Government. A pultry sum of 150,000 *koku* was considered sufficient for the maintenance of the Sovereign, the payment of the Court nobles' allowances, and the other expenses of the Court in Kyōto. The method of taxation varied according to provinces, but the general rule was that the Government, or the feudal lord, took forty per cent., and the cultivator sixty per cent., of the gross produce. In the early years of the Shogunate large reserves of money were accumulated by Iyeyasu, Hidetada, and Iyemitsu, but Tsunayoshi expended the whole, and found himself reduced to considerable straits. Yoshiyasu prevailed upon him to adopt a scheme proposed by Ogiwara Shigehide, namely, the issue of a debased currency. The coins issued in the early years

of the Tokugawa, namely, the *Keichō-kingin* (gold and silver of the *Keichō* era), were very pure, but in the recoinage of Tsunayoshi, gold was alloyed with silver and copper, and copper with lead and tin, so that the cost of the coins was much less than their face value. Many hundreds of thousand of *ryō* were obtained by this device, and order was restored to the embarrassed finances of the Shōgun. But the evils incidental to currency debasement did not fail to ensue. Prices appreciated suddenly and counterfeiting took place on a large scale. Subsequently, however, the Government corrected these abuses by restoring the currency to its pristine purity, and substitutiting administrative economy for false finance. The feudal barons, also, finding themselves in an impecunious state, began to issue fiat paper money *(Hansatsu)* for circulation within their own fiefs. It is a point well worthy of the attention of students of history, that from the time of their accession to power until the day of their downfall, the Tokugawa Shōguns never resorted to the device of issuing fiduciary notes, nor increased the rate of taxation.

## SECTION. VI.

*Middle Period of the Shogunate.—The Kyōhō Peace.—Industry.—Agriculture.—Criminal Law.—Military Equipment.*

The Shōgun Tunayoshi was succeeded on his death by his cousin Iyenobu, who became the sixth Shōgun of the Tokugawa line. Iyenobu reposed great confidence in Arai Hakuseki, the most learned and capable man of the time, and freely adopted his advice in administrative affairs. The Shōgun himself had con-

ceived the idea of accomplishing important reforms in the Government, but he died before practical effect could be given to this design. His son, Iyetsugu, then became Shūgun, but Iyetsugu also died very soon, and was succeeded, in 1716, by Yoshimune, who belonged to the Kii Family, being the great grandson of Iyeyasu and the grandson of Yorinobu. Gifted with exceptional talent, this ruler, soon after his accession to power, effected reforms in the administration of civil affairs, and placed the Government on a sound and strong basis. He directed the administration, as eighth Shōgun, during a period of thirty years, known in history as the "peace of the *Kyōhō* era," and he left behind him a reputation second to none obtained by any of the Tokugawa rulers.

At this period the impecuniosity of the Government, which had been going from bad to worse under succeeding Shōguns, and which resulted chiefly from extravagant and useless expenditure in the Tokugawa household, began to be a subject of serious embarrassment. Yoshimune had no sooner assumed administrative control than he set himself to restore financial order by closing or destroying several of the splendid mansions kept for the Shōgun's amusement, and dismissing their female and male inmates, while he himself sought to set an example to his people by wearing rough garments and faring in the simplest manner. Finally, he issued an edict urging the necessity of economy in all affairs both public and private, and as the nation had practical evidence of this spirit in the conduct of its rulers, not alone the Ministers of State but also the feudal barons adopting and following the admonition of the Shōgun by the exercise of strict frugality, economy became one of the most marked features of the era.

Yoshimune not only sought to foster this spirit of frugality, but also endeavoured to promote industrial and agricultural enterprise. He encouraged the cultivation of Korean ginseng as well as Batavain and sweet potatoes; he inaugurated the planting of Japanese sugar cane, and at the same time he despatched officials to various parts of the empire to promote the growth of other products. Thus many persons in the different clans devoted themselves to industry and agriculture. Enumerating the principal developments of the time, we find that sericulture was greatly extended and that its methods were improved throughout the district extending from the provinces of Kai, Shinano, Kōtsuke, and Shimotsuke, to Ōshū and Dewa; that indigo was cultivated in Awa; that oranges were grown in Kishū; that the raising of tobacco and the operation of drying bonito were considerably encouraged in Satsuma; that salt was manufactured in Shikoku and Chūgoku, and that the hardware, lacquer, gold-smith's and furrier's trades were greatly developed. In the realm of agriculture, the Shōgun, recognising that husbandry was the staple occupation of the people and rice the chief article of national diet, enacted regulations for the protection and encouragement of farmers, among these regulations being one which provided that, in the event of a farmer being prevented from carrying on the necessary operations of agriculture, his nearest neighbours must assist him. Transactions in real estate were not permitted indiscriminately. The sale and purchase of land were forbidden; measures were framed to prevent the undue growth of large estate, as well as to protect the humble classes and obviate their dispersal through poverty. Further, the Shōgun encouraged the development of water-ways for the transport of goods and for the irrigation of lands. The result of all this beneficent administration such a was marked increase

of the production of rice that the people called Yoshimune "*Kome Shōgun*" (the Rice Shōgun). His policy, so far as concerned the promotion of industry and agriculture, was adopted and pursued by several of his successors.

From the middle ages of Japanese history taxes on land constituted the chief item of State revenue. During the Tokugawa period, four-tenths of the produce of the land went to the Government and six-tenths to the farmer. There were two methods of collecting the tax. One was called "*Kenmi-dori*." According to this system, the quality of the rice had to be determined and the rate of tax fixed accordingly. The procedure was tedious, and Yoshimune accordingly gave preference to the other method, "*Jōmen-dori*," the principle of which was to fix the rate of tax according to the average rice-harvest of the proceding five or ten years, and thenceforth, during the interval of years to which this rate applied, the farmers were required to pay the tax thus determined whatever might be the nature of the crops, exceptions being made, however, in the event of drought, tempest, or floods. During the administration of this Shōgun the afterwards celebrated rice-guild of Dōjima in Ōsaka made its appearance.

Throughout the government of Iyeyasu and the early Tokugawa Shōguns no code of criminal law was specially enacted, the administrative maxim of the time being that moral doctrines should guide all officials, and that the judges should consult the dictates of their own conscience in dealing with criminals. But as popular knowledge increased, it became obviously necessary that uniformity of punishments should be secured by fixed and universally applicable laws. Yoshimune was at first averse to criminal

legislation, but he nevertheless appreciated the difficulty of conducting judicial administration in the absence of duly sanctioned legal provisions, and he therefore caused the various old laws to be collated and embodied into a fifteen-volume code, called *Hatto-gaki*. This code bore a close resemblance to the *Kyaku-shiki* of the Heian period. Further, after consultation with various jurists and officials, the Shōgun directed the preparation of another volume of law, namely the *Kujikata-sadamegaki*, popularly called *Gojō-sho Hyakka-jō*. These various enactments constituted the complete criminal code of the Tokugawa. From its provisions were expunged all punishments such as had been practised in times of war; examination by torture was restricted to cases the circumstances of which obviously dictated its application, and on the whole the object aimed at was to lighten the scale of punishment as far as possible. These criminal laws were not, however, made public. The people to whom they applied knew nothing of their provisions. Only the officers charged with the duty of administering them had cognisance of their purport. In a word, the public knew only that certain interdictions existed but as to the punishment involved in the violation of such interdictions, they knew nothing until it fell to their lot to suffer them. The object of this system was to inculcate respect for the laws themselves rather than fear of the consequences of violating them. Among the judicial officers of the time was one Ōoka Tadasuke, whose acumen in judging offences was so remarkable that the people credited him with supernatural ability. Many of his judgments were such as to be thought worthy of perpetual record. As to the punishments commonly inflicted, we find manacling, scourging, exile, and so forth, the most severe being transportation to a distant island and death. The degree of punishment in the same

class varied with the nature of the crime. There were also other punishment, as branding, public exposure, confiscation of property, and so forth. In the case of men holding *Samurai* rank or higher, it was assumed that, being sufficiently conversant with the code of etiquette and the principle of morality, minor penalties were not required for their control. Hence the methods resorted to with them were confinement to their own residence, or shutting them off from general intercourse, or dismissal from office, or compulsory suicide, and so forth. *Samurai* who had been guilty of an offence were first degraded from the class of *Samurai* and then suitably punished. With regard to priests, also, special penalties were applied; as for example, exposure to public view, expulsion from the temple at which they officiated, or suspension from religious duties altogether. In all the fiefs care was taken to preserve a close relation between local penalties and those inflicted by the Central Government, but difference in the degree of severity exercised made themselves apparent in the sentences of different judges, and further, since the judiciary was not independent of the executive, miscarriages of justice were not infrequent.

The empire having now been at peace during many years, the military equipment began to be neglected and the *Samurai* no longer devoted themselves to martial exercise. The Shōgun, Yoshimune, regretting this state of affairs, strongly rebuked the *Samurai*; encouraged them to practise equestrian archery, fencing, spear-exercise, swimming, gymnastics *(jiujutsu)*, and so forth, and revived the pastime of pursuing game with hawks on the Kogane Plain. Originally fond of such pursuits, he applied himself to them with added ardour in order to popularize them among

the *Samurai*. The Shōgun's Government being essentially a military feudalism, all provisions relating to military affairs were of the most stringent character. In the event of the Shōgun himself taking the field, he had to be accompanied by all the feudal barons, the Ministers of State (*Rōjiu*) becoming generals and the *Wakadoshiyori* holding chief command over the bannerets. When the Shōgun himself did not take the field, the *Rōjiu* and *Wakadoshiyori* commanded in his place. All the officials from the *Rōjiu* downwards served in civil capacities under ordinary circumstances, but held military command in time of war. Feudal barons whose income did not exceed ten thousand *koku* of rice were required to furnish ten horsemen and two hundred and thirty-five foot-soldiers, with full equipment of bows, guns, spears, banners, and so forth; while those who enjoyed a larger revenue were under obligation to furnish more ample contingents in proportion to their income. The Shōgun himself had a large body-guard, consisting of 30,000 men or upwards, of which Ōbangumi, Koshōgumi, and Shoinban were most powerful. The *Samurai* of these troops discharged civil duties in times of peace. Throughout the various clans a military system closely resembling that of the Shogunate prevailed.

Among all martial exercises fencing was most practised and most esteemed. The *Samurai* regarded his two swords with the utmost love and veneration, and the skill and spirit shown by him in their use were justly a source of pride to Japan. Every member of the military class, from the Shōgun downwards, received regular instruction in fencing with the sword. Spears and fire-arms were also widely employed, and the practice of *Jūjutsu*—a species of gymnastics directed to purposes of self-defence—received gene-

ral attention. Men conspicuous for skill in fencing and other martial exercises built schools and became teachers of their respective specialties. Thus theoretically the military training was very perfect, but as there had been no occasion for the practical exercise of the art of war during many years, the *Samurai* became gradually unfit for service in the field and would doubtless have lapsed into a even worse condition but for the strenuous efforts made by Yoshimune on his accession to power. Subsequently, during the *Kwansei* era (1789-1800 A.D.), Matsudaira Sadanobu, a Minister of State, spared no pains to encourage the pursuit of martial exercises, but the continued absence of any military need of such attainments told steadily upon the *Samurai*, and towards the close of the Shōgunate not only had the nation become comparatively ennervated, but also its military systems were old-fashioned and inefficient from foreign points of view. Hence the Government found it necessary to remodel the organization, creating such offices as *Rikugun Bugyō* (Minister of War) and *Kaigun Bugyō* (Minister of the Navy), adopting the European system, adding cavalry, artillery, engineers, and so forth to the Army, and establishing iron foundries, docks, and so forth for the use of the Navy. At the same time, the restrictions imposed upon ship-building were removed, and official encouragement was given to the construction of sea-going vessels and to the art of navigation. Thus the foundations of the present Army and Navy were laid.

To Yoshimune's initiative belongs, also, the establishment of a fire-brigade in Edo. In earlier times, during the period of the fourth Shōgun, Iyetsuna, in January of the third year of the *Meireki* era (1657 A.D.) a conflagration broke out in Edo, reducing nearly the whole city to ashes,

and entailing the loss of many lives. After this catastrophe, Matsudaira Nobutsuna, who then held the office of *Rōjiu*, effected great improvements in the division of the city, repaired and widened the streets, removed the great Buddhist temples to the suburbs, created large spaces to which the citizens could fly for refuge in the event of fire, and built embankments to prevent the overflow of the rivers, thus greatly augmenting the prosperity of the capital. Prior to this, three aqueducts had been constructed in the Kanda, Tamagawa, and Senkawa districts, by which means immense facilities were conferred in the matter of water-supply. After the *Meireki* conflagration, however, the crime of incendiarism became common, and owing to the high winds so often prevailing in Edo, fires thus kindled proved very destructive, as many as ten thousand houses being sometimes reduced to ashes. Perpetual exposure to such a destructive agency naturally exercised an injurious effect upon the methods of house construction. The citizens contented themselves with flimsy dwellings, in many cases thatched, not tiled, and the decoration of the nobles' mansions began to be materially reduced. On the other hand, the prosperity of the city increased so greatly that its area extended over four square *ri* (25 square miles) and its population aggregated two millions. Conflagrations, however, continued as frequent as ever. Yoshimune, therefore, encouraged the people to build houses of stone or other fire-proof materials, and in streets of prime importance, like those in the Kanda and Nihonbashi districts, the Shōgun did not hesitate to have the houses pulled down in order to widen the thoroughfares. At the same time, Ōoka Tadasuke, Municipal Governor, established the fire-brigade system. All these improvements had some effect in reducing the number of conflagrations, but to the end of the

Tokugawa dynasty the ravages of fire continued to be the curse of the capital.

Yoshimune, who in addition to military, financial, and administrative aptitudes, had a strong scientific bias, devoted much of his spare time to astronomy, and caused instruments to be constructed for the purpose of taking observations. He also ordered surveys to be undertaken for the purpose of making a map. The encouragement of medicine and the building of hospitals were further among his reforms, and even the promulgation of a law of copyright was not neglected, while we find him turning to such a matter as the planting of cherry, willow, and peach trees at Asukayama, along the banks of the Sumida River, in Kanda, in Koganei, in Nakano, and other parts of the capital, with the result that the citizens are now in possession of beautiful pleasure resorts both in the suburbs and in the business districts of Tōkyō.

## SECTION VII.

*The Kwansei Peace.—The Repose of the Military Classes.—Social Conditions.—Public Sentiments and Customs.*

The astute and comprehensive reforms of Yoshimune, followed by the prudent rule of his son Iyeshige, carried the administration of the Shogunate to its acme of efficiency and power, though even this exceptionally prosperous and peaceful era was not entirely free from abuses of power on that part of military men whose position enabled them to perpetrate excesses. Throughout the period of Yoshimune's and Iyeshige's rule the empire enjoyed profound peace, but

this happy state of affairs suffered some interruption during the government of Iyeharu, son of Iyeshige. That Prince's favourite, Tanuma Okitsugu, became *Rōjiu*. and his son Okitomo received the office of *Wakadoshiyori*. Thus the influence of the Tanuma Family became overwhelming, and as its members consulted their private interests rather than those of the public, the evils of bribery and sycophancy began to prevail and the administrative excellence of the *Kyōhō* era suffered in consequence. The country was also visited by droughts and inundations, such discontent being engendered among the poorer classes that mobs assembled and attacked the residences of wealthy merchants.

Iyeharu, on his demise, was succeeded by Iyenari, great grandson of Yoshimune, of the Hitotsubashi line. On his death-bed, Iyeharu left an injunction which led to the dismissal of the *Rōjiu*, Tanuma. Matsudaira Sadanobu, feudal baron of Shirakawa, was appointed to the former's office. Sadanobu was a grandson of Yoshimune, and consequently uncle of Iyenari. He became Regent during the minority of the Shōgun. A man of great wisdom and wide erudition, he set himself earnestly and with ultimate success to reform the evil practices that had crept into the administration and to restore the prosperous tranquillity of the *Kyōhō* era. The Government of his time was fortunate in the possession of many other able officials, and the united efforts of these brought about a state of affairs known in history as the "*Kwansei* (1789-1800) Peace." Many feudal barons were distinguished at this period for administrative ability, notably Uesugi Harunori, Lord of Yonezawa; Matsudaira Katanobu, Lord of Aizu, Tokugawa Harusada, Lord of Kishū; Ikeda Harumasa, Lord of Bizen; Asano

Shigeakira, Lord of Aki; Nabeshima Narimasa, Lord of Saga; and Hosokawa Shigekata, Lord of Higo, within whose fiefs the management of affairs left nothing to be desired. Moreover, the Throne was then occupied by Kōkaku, a Sovereign of great sagacity, so that the people habitually spoke of both the Sovereign in Kyōto and Sadanobu in Kwantō as being eminently fitted for their high offices. With reference to the Imperial succession, it may here be stated that in the sixth year of the *Hōyei* era (1706 A.D.) the Emperor Higashiyama died, and after his death, during a period of seventy years, the Throne was occupied by five Emperors, whose names, in the order of their succession, were Nakanomikado, Sakuramachi, Momozono, Gosakuramachi, and Gomomozono. The last of these five having no male issue, Prince Kan-in Tomohito great-grandson of the Emperor Higashiyama, became Sovereign under the name of Kōkaku.

Matsudaira Sadanobu exercised the duties of Regent during seven years, and having resigned that office on the Shōgun's attaining majority, he devoted himself exclusively to literature. The Shōgun Iyenari himself took an active part in the transaction of administrative affairs. He was promoted by the Emperor to the Second Grade of the First Rank and to the post of Chief Minister of State, thus enjoying the distinction of reaching the highest position ever attained by a Shōgun of the Tokugawa line while in office. His Shogunate lasted fifty years, and throughout that long era the military class remained perfectly tranquil and the feudal system attained its highest stage of efficiency.

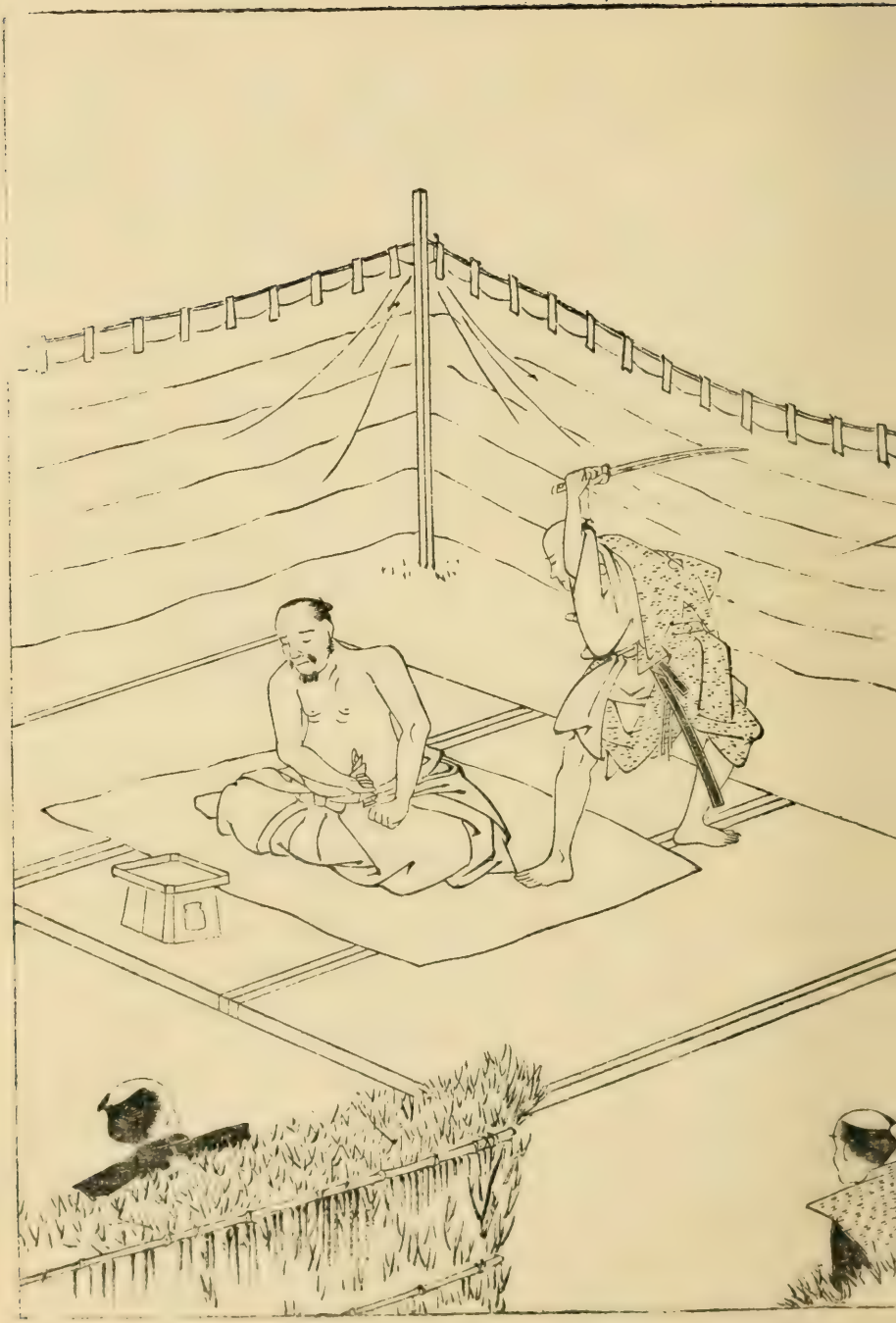
Turning our attention now to the state of Society, we find worthy of first notice the attitude of the popular mind.

During the early years of the Tokugawa period, the memory of the nation being still freshly imbued with incidents of battle and bloodshed, both the Government and the people regarded the military spirit with the utmost reverence and considered its development essential to the well-being of the State. *Samurai* even of the lowest rank wore two swords whenever they walked abroad, and one and all these men of war were disciples of a cult which placed honour and justice at the head of a soldier's characteristics and relegated selfishness to the lowest place. It was a common practice with the *Samurai* of the time to take their own lives for the purpose of expiating some event which they considered injurious to the prestige of their feudal lord. Even the inferior classes and the merchants of that day, living in or near Kyōto, attached more importance to the dictates of integrity and honour than to questions of pecuniary interest. An evidence of the spirit that governed monetary transactions is furnished in the form of promissory note in vogue at the time. It contained such clauses as the following:—"In the event of my failure to repay the money borrowed by me, I shall submit to be made an object of public ridicule;" or, "Should I fail to discharge my obligation at the fixed time, I shall cease to be worthy of human consideration."

In order to render distinct the boundaries between the upper and lower classes, and to maintain social order, strict attention was paid by the Government to etiquette and conventional observances, on the one hand, and the study of literature by men of position was encouraged, on the other. Nevertheless, instances of rude and disorderly conduct on the part of the people were not infrequent. During the administrations of the third, fourth, and fifth

Shōguns, the popular mind set ideal store by displays of courage and resolution exercised in the pursuit of some purpose however difficult of attainment, and such a habit of thought naturally degenerated in the case of the unrefined or illiterate into mere truculence and roughness. The *Samurai* themselves were not free from this reproach, but it attached chiefly to a class of commoners who went by the name of "*Otokodate*," and were divided into bands known as "*Jingi-gumi*," "*Shiratsuka-gumi*," "*Sekirei-gumi*," and so forth under the leadership of Mizuno Jūrozaemon, Banzuiin Chōbei, and others. The proceedings of these affiliations exercised a most injurious effect on the customs and morals of the people. Such organizations were therefore strictly interdicted by the fifth Shōgun, and their leaders were put to death. The same ruler forbade the wearing of swords by merchants and farmers, and by these means succeeded in correcting the rough habits of the lower orders, but it is questionable whether the evils thus removed were not replaced by still greater. As for the *Samurai*, demoralized by the long peace, they indulged in various kinds of amusements, song-singing, theatricals, and so forth being among the number. During the *Genroku* era (1688-1703 A.D.), a remarkable example of the vendetta occurred, the principal actors being forty-seven *Samurai* who killed the enemy of their feudal lord. The affair had its origin in an act of violence perpetrated by Asano Naganori, feudal chief of Akō, who, being insulted by his rear-vassal Kira Yoshinaka, drew his sword within the precincts of the palace and wounded the offender, for which breach of etiquette he was condemned to take his own life, and his family estate was confiscated, an exceptionally severe sentence, due to the fact that the Government of the Shōgun was just then exercising every effort to check the rough-and-ready habits





The Harakiri (suicide by cutting open the abdomen).



An Attack for Revenge.



of the time. Asano's vassals, forty-seven in number, under the leadership of Ōishi Kuranosuke, after a long period of patient watching and much hardship, succeeded in forcing their way into Yoshinaka's residence in Edo and decapitating him. Having accomplished this act of fierce retribution, they surrendered themselves to the authorities and were sentenced to die by suicide. But their achievement excited the nation's strong admiration. The name of "*Gishi*" (loyal *Samurai*) was popularly bestowed on them; their memory was universally respected; their act was dramatized into one of the greatest of Japanese plays, called "*Chūshingura*," and through all succeeding generations theatrical representations of their loyal conduct never failed to attract deeply sympathetic audiences. Similar deeds were already on record. Early in the Kamakura Period, the Soga brothers, Sukenari and Tokimune, killed their father's foe, Kudō Suketsune; and under the Tokugawa rule, Araki Matayemon, the renowned swordsman, together with Watanabe Kazuma, put to death Kawai, the hereditary enemy of his family, at Ueno in Iga. These and other achievements, some filial, some loyal, fired the imagination of the nation. It became a popular creed that orphans, faithful vassals, and even widows should devote their lives to vindicating the memory or avenging the death of parents, chiefs, or husbands, and this conviction was constantly translated into action during the early years of the Tokugawa rule. It was undoubtedly a custom in some respects worthy of only a military feudalism, but its effect in fostering a spirit of chivalry was beyond question.

As years went by and the empire continued to enjoy profound tranquillity, ostentation, luxury, and effeminate habits began to prevail. Against these evil practices not

a few of the statesmen and nobles of the time, notably the Regent Sadanobu, as already related, earnestly counselled the people. Dissipation and vain display reached their height in the time of Iyenari, a period to which the name of "*Ōgosho Jidai*" (ex-Shōgun era) was given. It is a well recognised historical fact that, just as had been the case in the closing years of the Heian Epoch, the superficial and licentious habits, the corruption and the demoralization which grew out of unbroken peace and prosperity and which culminated in the days of Iyenari, marked the beginning of the decline of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

No matter was deemed of greater importance, alike from a political and a social point of view in Japan, than to preserve distinctions of birth. During the Tokugawa Epoch, the lines of demarkation were clearly and sharply maintained between *Samurai*, Farmers, Artizans, and Merchants, the four classes ranking in the order here given. Kyōto was the place of residence of the Imperial Princes, among whom Fushimi, Arisugawa, Katsura, and Kan-in were most closely connected with the Imperial House. The Court Nobles aggregated over 130 families, including the five families called "*Sekke*," from which Prime Ministers were appointed and Empresses chosen; the seven families, called "*Seiga*" from which the Ministers of the Right and Left were selected; and other families directly descended from *Kandachime* and *Tenjōbito* of the Nara and Heian Epochs. These nobles filled the various offices in the Imperial Court. The Shōgun, on his part, administered all the civil and military affairs of the State, under the authority of the Sovereign, and controlled the feudal barons, who numbered over 360. At the outset large tracts of territory were given to the direct descendents of Iyeyasu, on whose

support the Shōgun chiefly relied. But subsequently special treatment was extended to the feudal barons of Bishū, Kishū and Mito, and they were regarded as the principal bulwarks of the Edo Administration. The heads of these three families—which were called "*Sanke*"—were authorized to act in the capacity of advisers to the Shōgun with reference to the principal political affairs of the realm, and they were invested with the right to succeed to the Shōgunate in the event of a failure in the direct line of male descent. Further, the two Shōguns Yoshimune and Iyeshige founded three new families at the head of which they placed their own sons, namely, the houses of Tayasu, Hitotsubashi, and Shimizu. These were called the "*Sankyō*." They enjoyed the same special privileges and distinctions as the "*Sanke*." Immense power and influence were wielded by the "*Sanke*" and the "*Sankyō*." None of the other feudal barons could compare with them. In addition to the above, many feudal chiefs were the recipients of exceptional favour at the hands of the Shōgun. Classifying the barons with reference to their position towards the Shogunate, we have the broad distinctions already mentioned, namely, *Tozama* and *Fudai*; while, if classified according to the extent of their territory, they fall into the three divisions of *Kokushu*, *Jōshu*, and *Ryōshu*. Lands of varying extent were granted in perpetuity, such estates being classed into four kinds, namely, those of 10,000 *koku* annually and upwards; those of 50,000 *koku* and upwards; those of 100,000 *koku* and upwards, and those of 300,000 *koku* and upwards. Accorking to these property qualifications the relative ranks of the feudal nobles were determined, as well as their ceremonial robes, their treatment at the Shōgun's Palace and the places assigned to them there. It was prescribed that, whenever the feudal barons repaired to Edo or visited the Shōgun's Palace, they

had to be attended by a fixed retinue of retainers, the number varying with their rank. On these occasions bows, muskets, spears, and halberds were borne by the retinue, several of whom were mounted on horseback. The baggage was carried in handsome cases, called *hasami-bako*, and the utensils used *en route* were also enclosed in ornamented coverings, so that the whole procession formed an imposing and picturesque spectacle. These progresses of the feudal nobles were most frequently met with on the Tōkaidō, after which the commonest routes were the Naka-sendō, the Ōu-kaidō, the Saikoku-kaidō, the Shikoku-kaidō, and so forth. As for the *Samurai*, they derived their means of support from lands granted them for life or in perpetuity by the Shōgun's Government or the feudal nobles. Their duties were to master all branches of military exercises and to devote themselves faithfully to the service of their lords. They studied literature with assiduity, and occupied a position of vital importance in the feudal system. Speaking broadly, they were divided into two classes. Those belonging to the higher class were called "*Bajō-kaku*" (mounted officers): they took the field on horseback and held comparatively high social positions, Those belonging to the second class called "*Keihai*" went on foot, and were subdivided into various grades, as "*Kachi*," "*Kobito*," "*Ashigaru*," &c. The *Samurai* who directly served the Shōgun's Government were called "*Jikisan*," and occupied the most respected position among their class, the higher among them being "*Hatamoto*" (bannerets) and the lower "*Kenin*."

Turning to the people, we find that the great majority of them consisted of farmers, artizans, and merchants. Agriculture being regarded as the staple national industry, farmers ranked above both artizans and merchants, the low





The Process



of Feudal Lords.



place assigned to the mercantile class being due to the consideration that they worked in their own interests only. Apart from this fact, however, the traders of the time were, for the most part, mean persons, well suited to the low grade assigned to them. Neither farmers, artizans, nor merchants were permitted to use family names, so they called themselves simply "farmer this," or "tradesmen that," but it was possible to acquire the privilege of using a family name on account of some meritorious public service, and many farmers were so privileged. Lower still than any of the classes hitherto mentioned were the "*Eta*" and "*Hinin*," who were not deemed worthy to be included in any of the above categories.

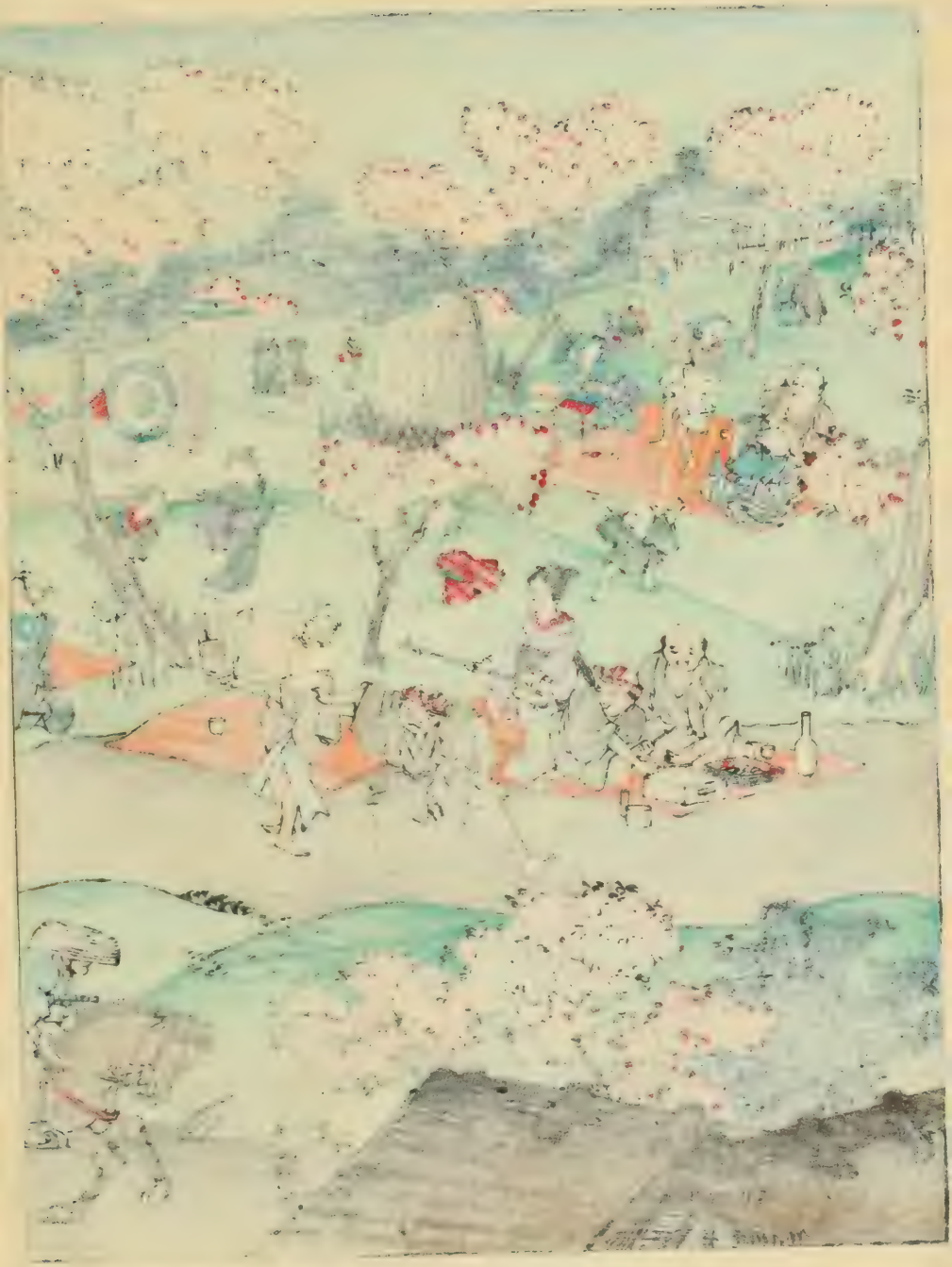
The regular holidays observed in the Court of Edo were the 1st, 15th, and 28th of each month. These days were called "*sanjitsu*." The 1st of January was, of course, a special holiday, as were the 3rd of the 3rd month, the 5th of the 5th month, the 7th of the 7th month, and the 9th of the 9th month, which five days were called "*Go-sekku*." The 16th of the 6th month—called "*Kajō*" and the 1st of the 10th month—called "*Gen-cho*"—were also festivals. On special fête days, as fixed officially, the feudal barons, dressed in magnificent costumes, had to visit the Shōgun's Palace, and the *Samurai* and other classes of the people celebrated the time according to duly fixed codes of ceremony. The holy days of the *Chinju* shrines in the various districts were strictly observed by all, and farmers, artizans, and merchants had rest-days of their own according to the convenience of their occupations. The most refined pastimes of the people were playing on the *koto*—a stringed instrument—the game of *go* (checkers), caligraphy, and painting. Wrestling, singing, and dancing, and various kinds of

music were also much affected, and in the cities there were public story-tellers of great ability. A favourite amusement with all classes was to visit places where different kinds of flowering trees and shrubs were to be seen at the different seasons. A species of pantomimic dancing aalled *Nō* was very fashionable among the *Samurai*, and had been so ever since the Ashikaga era. Of a less refined though often very accomplished character was the *Jōruri*, a kind of recitative with accompaniment of *samisen*. This remains even to-day as much esteemed as ever. The theatre, too, had gradually developed from a mere puppet show to fully organized performances with a revolving stage and elaborate scenic effects, and was very popular for a time. But inasmuch as it was considered that the plays put upon the stage had a demoralizing effect, many of the comic pieces especially being of a coarse character, *Samurai* were forbidden to attend the theatre, and ultimately the Government interdicted association between actors and ordinary folks. The strict discipline applied to the *Samurai* may be inferred from this fact.

## SECTION VIII.

### *Industry and Fine Arts.*

In the sphere of industrial pursuits, the business of weaving made great progress owing to the use of fine costumes by the upper and middle classes. During the *Kcian* era (1640 A.D.) the artizans of Kyōto began to manufacture velvet after the Dutch method; in the *Kwambun* era (1661 A.D.), *habutaye* (a kind of white silk) began to be woven; in the *Tenna* era (1680 A.D.), *mon-chirimen* (a fine silk crape) was produced,



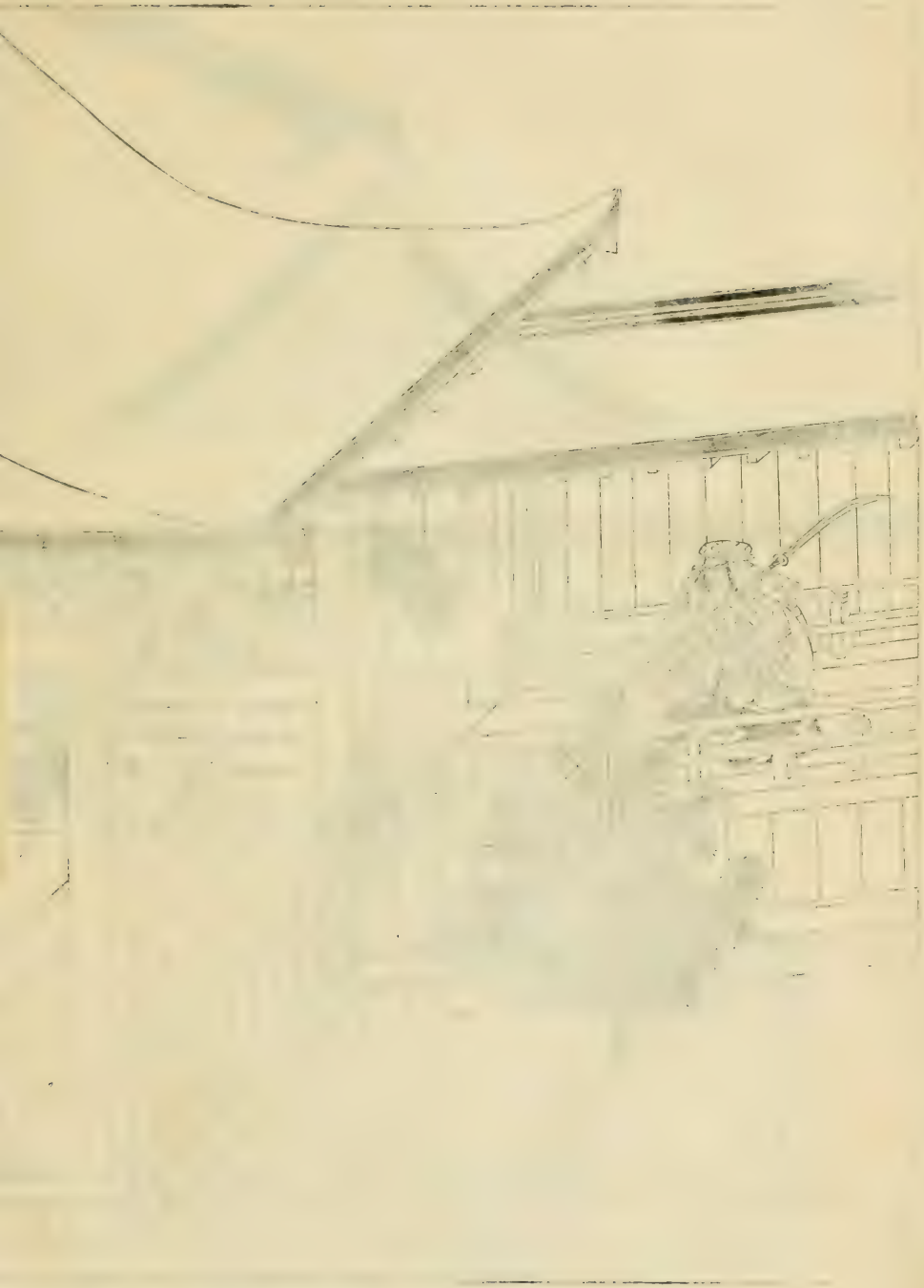


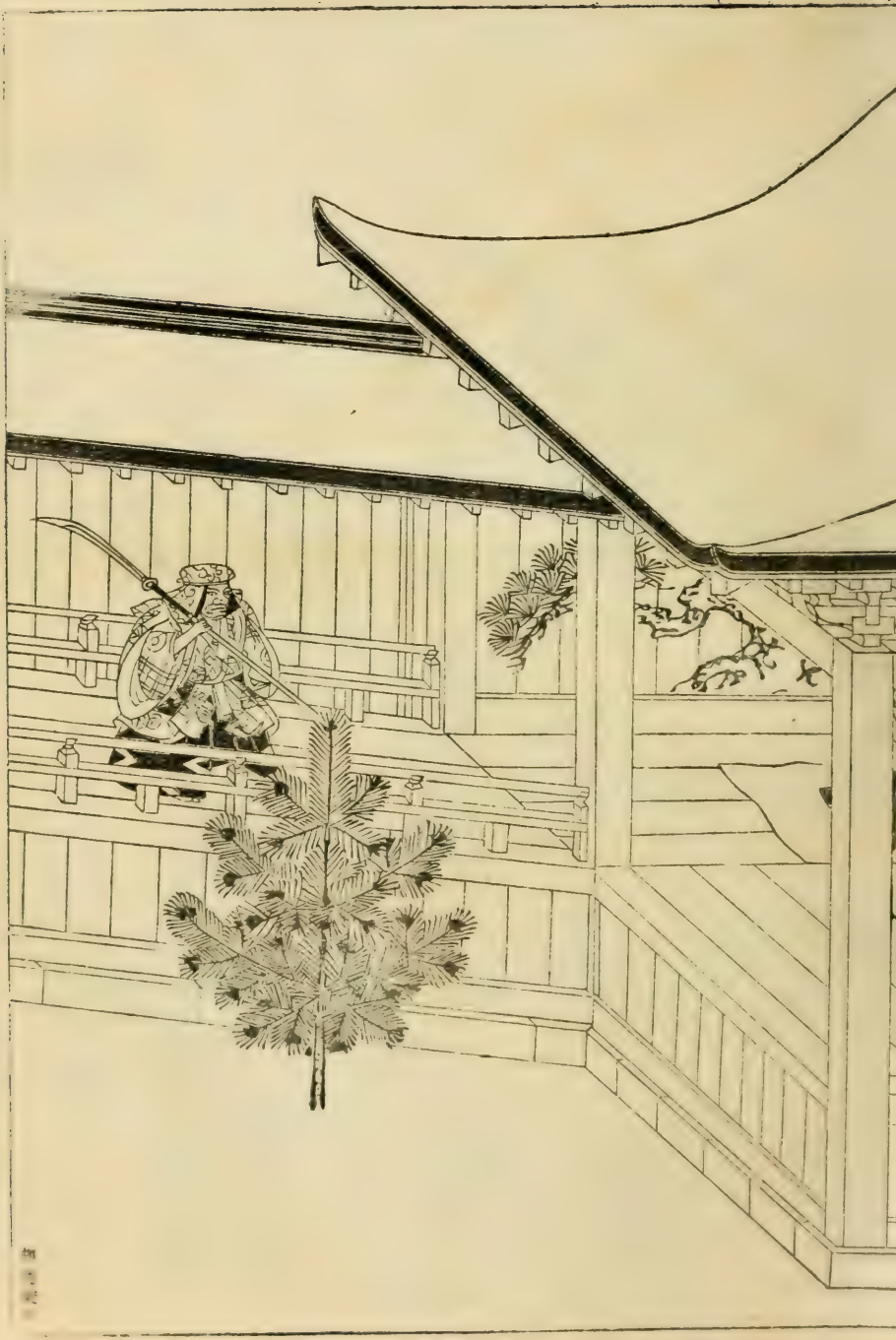
A Picnic on the Asu



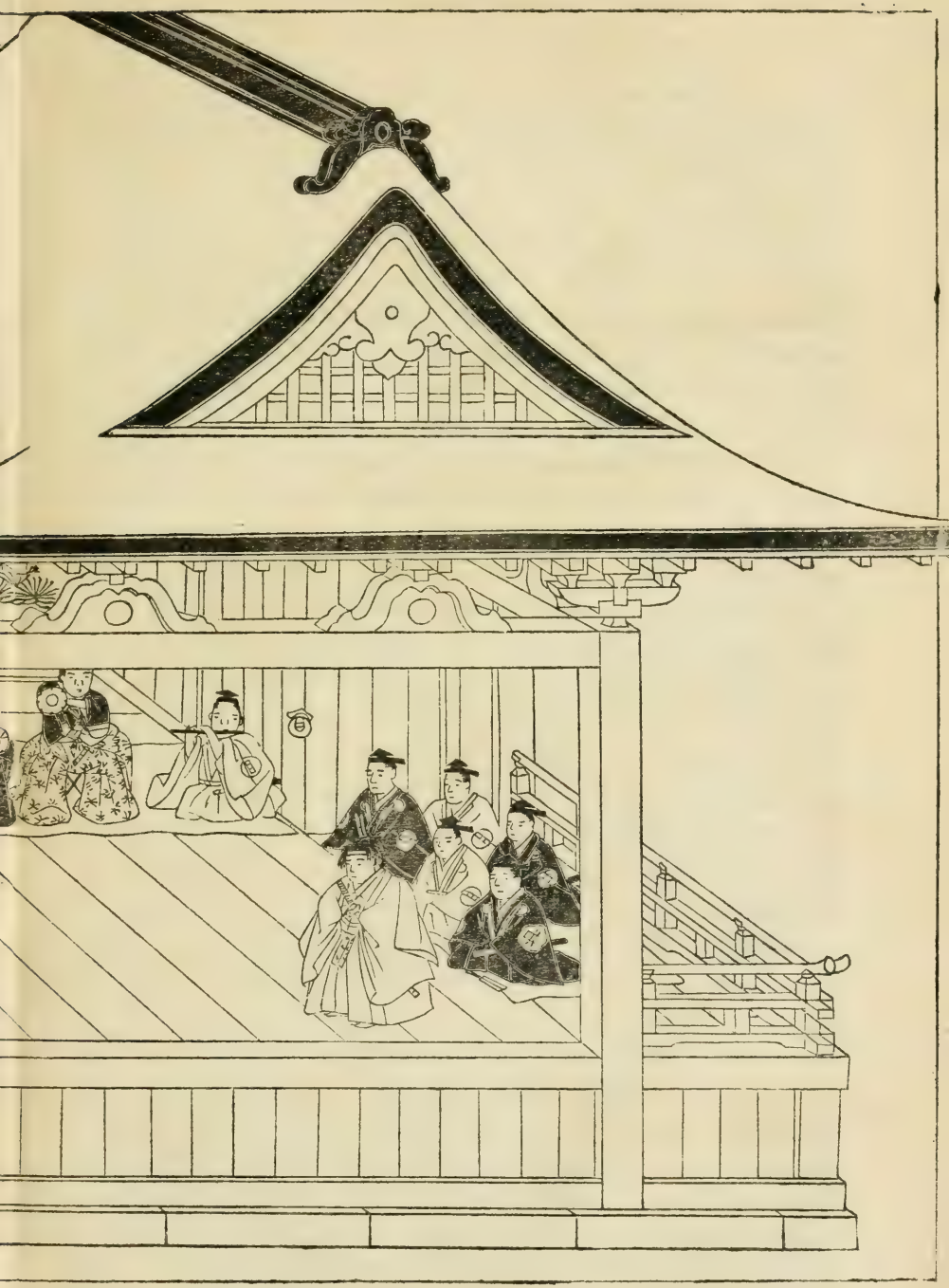
Hill in the Flowery Season.







The Priest Benkei on a



ge (a scene in the *Nō* dance).



and in the *Hōyei* era (1703 A.D.), *yūzen-zome* (a species of figured silk or cotten fabric ornamented by painting designs which were afterwards fixed by special processes) made its appearance. In Ōmi, also, *hama-chirimen* (another kind of fine silk crape) was woven, and in Echigo an exceedingly delicate fabric called *sukiya*. The eastern provinces were especially notable for the progress made by them in silk weaving from the period of the 8th Shōgun, the districts most successful in this respect being Kiriu and Isezaki in Kōtsuke, Ashikaga, in Shimotsuke, Chichibu and Hachiōji in Musashi, and Fukushima in Mutsu. After silk, the fabrics most worthy of mention are cottons. From the earliest period cotton had been produced in Nagasaki, Nara, Satsuma, and Owari, and at a later date, as the durability and protective character of cotten fabrics came to be more generally appreciated, the cultivation of the plant was greatly extended. Hemp and *Kōzo (Morus papyrifera)* were also grown, but their employment was limited to the manufacture of summer garments. Various fabrics of considerable beauty and displaying much ingenuity of workmanship were also produced, as, for example, *Satsuma-gasuri*, *Kokura-ori*, *Chōshi-chijimi*, *Arimatsu-shibori*, and so forth. In the keramic field, the process of decorating faience with vitrifiable enamels over the glaze was introduced by Nomura Ninsei in the *Genna* era (1614 A.D.). This ware was known as *Kyō-yaki*, or Kyōto faience. Subsequently it became divided into two kinds, *Awada-yaki* and *Kiyomidzu-yaki*, and afterwards special varieties, as *Kenzan-yaki*, *Dōhachi-yaki*, and so forth, were produced the various kinds being distinguished by peculiarities of techique and decoration. Kobori Masakadzu (commonly called "Enshū"), a vassal of the Tokugawa, and Matsudaira Harusato (known as "Fumai"), feudal baron of

Matsuye, supplied the keramists with special designs and caused pieces to be potted which possessed highly artistic qualities. In addition to these wares these existed the well known and much esteemed *Imari-yaki* and *Satsuma-yaki* in Kiushū; the *Banko-yaki* in Ise; the *Seto-yaki* and the *Inuyama-yaki* in Owari—the latter commenced in the *Kyōhō* era (1716 A.D.); the *Kutani-yaki*, which began to be made in Kaga in the *Kwanyei* era (1624 A.D.); and the *Sōma-yaki* in Mutsu, dating from the *Keian* era (1648 A.D.). The various factories remained more or less prosperous throughout, and still continue to produce wares which find a large market at home and abroad. With regard to the glyptic art, Hidari Jingorō, who flourished in the days of Iyeyasu, left a reputation that has not been surpassed; and in the matter of metal engraving, the various generations of the Gotō family enjoyed wide popularity. In painting, we find the great Kanō Morinobu—commonly known as "Tannyū"— who began to produce his admirable pictures in the days of Iyeyasu and continued until the time of the 4th Shōgun, fully restoring the name of the Kanō family. This artist together with Sumiyoshi Hirozumi received the distinction of being nominated "Edokoro," or special artists to the Tokugawa Government, and their descendants not unworthily supported their reputation. Tannyū was celebrated among all the painters of his age for the combined strength and delicacy of his work, and Sumiyoshi for his elaborate painstaking after the Tosa style. Many schools have been founded on the Kanō as a basis, as, for example, that of Hanabusa Itchō. From the *Genroku* era (1688 A.D.), men devoted much care to studying the paintings of the Chinese *Ming* or *Tsin* artists, and modified their styles according to Japanese ideals. In the *Bunkwa* era (1804 A.D.), Maruyama Ōkyo founded in Kyōto the *Shijō* School,

of which the characteristic was fidelity to nature, and such was the influence of his genius that for a time no artist escaped the infection of his admirable style. Ikeno Taiga and Tani Bunchō, are also notable. The style called *Ukiyo-ye* (*genre* painting) owes it origin to the genius of Iwasa Katsushige, an artist of Iyeyasu's time. Iwasa consequently received the title of *Ukiyo-matabyōe*. This school attained great popularity in the days of its renowned masters Hishikawa Moronobu, Miyagawa Chōshun, and so forth. It furnished the well-known *nishiki-ye* (chromo-zylographs) and book illustrations for which Japan was then famous. Katsushika Hokusai belonged to this school, and was its greatest master. His "*Mangwa*" was one of the most popular works ever published in Japan. Great numbers of nobles and *Samurai* also became painters, as, for example, Riurikyō (Yanagisawa Kiyen), Watanabe Kwazan, and so forth. Caligraphy also was cultivated almost to the extent of a fine art. Some of the *Samurai* developed remarkable skill in this line, and established schools where instruction was given in penmanship. Such masters were called "Shoka." Chief among them was Hosoi Kōtaku. From the earliest times writing had been regarded with respect and assiduously cultivated in Japan, the autographs of celebrated scholars, statesmen, or caligraphists being framed or put into scrolls, and preserved from generation to generation with all the care bestowed on objects of art.

Much of the industrial progress and other useful or artistic developement referred to above, dates from the era, and may be referred to the sagacious administration, of the Shōgun Yoshimune. The precious metals, too, were plentiful in those days, and we find them use with profession in the field of art. Gold, silver, copper, and iron were pro-

duced cheifly in the domains of the lords of the Sado, Echigo, Iwami, Tajima, Iyo, and Izu, where great prosperity existed during the period of prolific production. The upland soil of Japan being best adapted for the culture of wheat, beans, tea, and various kinds, of vegetables, these were always grown with success, while the lowlands were devoted to the culture of rice, and the neighbouring seas, which abound in marine products of all kinds, afforded a rich field for the exploitation of the coastwise population. With regard to domestic commerce, business was freely carried on between Edo and Ōsaka, and fairly good facilities for transportation existed throughout a great part of the empire. As for foreign trade, during more than two centuries the Chinese and Dutch had been permitted to carry on commerce, but their operations were restricted to Nagasaki, partly because of the prejudices created by early troubles in connection with foreign vistors, and partly because Japan being virtually self-supplying in the matter of necessaris of daily life, no special need of importations from abroad was felt.

## SECTION IX.

### *Latter days of the Shogunate.—Visit of the American Fleet.*

In the eighth year of the *Tempō* era (1837), that is to say, in the latter days of the Shōgun Iyenari's administration, a police officer *(yoriki)* in Ōsaka, named Ōshiwo Heihachirō collected a force of men and attacked the castle in that city. He failed, however, and in consequence died by his own hand. A man of considerable erudition and energy,

he had found himself unable to gain any credit owing to his inferior position, and so, taking advantage of the popular discontent caused by a famine, he raised the standard of revolt. This was the first armed disturbance since the Amakusa rebellion two hundred years before. The Government was far too powerful to be shaken by such *emeutes*. It crushed them as the wheel of an ox-cart crushes a mantis.

In the same year Iyenari resigned the control of the administration, and his son Iyeyoshi succeeded him. Mizuno Tadakuni, an official of strong partiotism who emulated the virtues of the celebrated Sadanobu, held the office of *Rōjiu*, and being much concerned about the gradual decay of the administrative power, planned to bring about a state of affairs such as had prevailed in the *Kyōhō* and *Kwansei* eras. With that view he attempted to effect various changes in the manners and methods of the official classes. This was called the "*Mizuno's Tempō* Reform," but owing to the too sudden character of the changes, they led to the dismissal of the *Rōjiu*. Another Minister who attained considerable fame at this era was Abe Masahiro (Ise-no-Kami).

On the 3rd of the 6th month of the *Kayei* era (1863), Commodore Perry, Ambassador of the United States of America, entered the Bay of Uraga with a squadron consisting of two men-of-war and two merchant ships, and sought to open commercial relations with Japan. His visit exercised a powerful influence on the domestic affairs of the country. Ever since the early part of the seventeenth century, anti-foreign feeling, as related above, had been so intense that only the Chinese and the Dutch had been allowed to carry on trade at Nagasaki, and other European

nations, owing to various circumstances, gave themselves little, if any, concern about Japan. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century the spirit of aggrandisement made itself felt in the Occident, and Western States began to vie with one another in attempts to extend their territories and commerce. Eastward to Japan across the Pacific lay the United States of America, which had shaken of the yoke of Great Britain, and the latter, deprived of this flourishing colony, sought compensation in India and farther eastward, while France also as well as Russia turned covetous eyes to the Orient. Nine years before the arrival of the American squadron in Uraga Bay, that is to say, in the first year of the *Kōkwa* era (1844 A.D.), the Dutch addressed a letter to the Tokugawa Government advising that Japan be opened to all foreign nations, and subsequently they often repeated this counsel, at the same time explaining the conditions of the various states of Europe. Among the Japanese, many who had studied the Dutch language and acquired some knowledge of Western affairs, where in favour of a liberal foreign policy, but among the bulk of the nation the prejudices engendered by the violent and lawless conduct of the early Christian propagandists remained as strong as ever. Moreover, fresh reasons for resentment had been furnished by various encroachments of the Russians between the *Kwansei* (1789-1800 A.D.) and *Bunkwa* (1804-1817 A.D.) eras, and by disorderly conduct of English sailors in Nagasaki. Indeed, the Tokugawa Government had once gone so far as to order that any foreign ship approaching the coast of Japan should be fired on, and any Japanese whose studies of Dutch led them to advocate the opening of the country were deprived of their official positions or otherwise punished. In the *Kwansei* era (1789-1800 A.D.), Matsudaira Sadanobu, who filled the office of *Hosa* (Assist-

ant Minister) in the Shōgun's Government, Hayashi Tomonao of Sendai and others strongly advocated complete coast defence and at the time when the American squadron visited Japan, Tokugawa Nariakira, commonly called "Rekkō," the feudal chief of Mito, a noble of keen insight and quick judgment, conspicuously urged the policy of holding aloof from all foreign intercourse. In the third year of the *Kōkwa* era (1846), two American men-of-war had come to Uraga and sought to open tradal relations, but their proposals were not entertained and they had to leave the country without accomplishing anything. Commondore Perry's visit took place seven years later, and had the effect of greatly embarrassing the Tokugawa Government. He brought with him credentials from the President of America as well as specimens of the products of the United States, and he made formal application that commerce should be permited between his country and Japan. The Government replied that the matter being of the gravest importance, no immediate reply could be given, but that an answer should be ready the following year, whereupon Perry sailed away, declaring that he should return the next year without fail. Thereafter the Tokugawa Government invited a council of the feudal barons, including the Lord of Mito, to consult about the matter, Perry's coming to Uraga being at the same time reported to the Emperor through the proper channels, and the documents brought by him being shown to the feudal chiefs. During the confusion incidental to this event, the Shōgun Iyeyoshi died. He was succeeded by his son Iyesada. The year passed without any definite step being taken, and in January of the first year of the *Ansei* era (1854), Perry once more made his appearance at Uraga and urgently asked for a reply to his original proposals. All the feudal barons, including the

Mito chief, united in advocating a policy of seclusion, but the *Rōjiu*, Abe Masahiro, and the chief officials of the Tokugawa Government, were astute enough to see that such a policy could not be successfully pursued. They therefore insisted on concluding a treaty of amity and commerce, without paying due attention to its terms. Repeated conferences were held with the American Envoy, and finally a treaty was signed, providing that all American citizens driven to Japan by stress of weather should be kindly treated; that American ships of war should be supplied in Japanese ports with fuel, coal, provisions and all other necessaries, and that the two ports of Shimoda and Hakodate should be opened to American vessels. But generally trade was not sanctiond. Subsequently ambassadors came from Russia, France, and England, and conventions were concluded with them in terms virtually the same as those of Commodore Perry's treaty. Meanwhile, the Tokugawa Government gave out that they had concluded the American treaty merely in order to gain time for warlike preparations, but in truth they had been taken by surprise, and in addition to financial embarrassments they had to face natural calamities of a most disastrous character. In the year of Commodore Perry's second coming, violent earthquakes visited Chūgoku, Shikoku, and Kiushū, and in October of the following year—the second year of the *Ansei* era (1855)—the severest shock of all took place in Yedo. Immense numbers of the dwellings of the upper and lower classes as well as of the feudal barons were overthrown, and the earthquake was followed by a fire in which 100,000 persons are said to have lost their lives. In July of the following year, Mr. Harris came duly accredited by the Government of the United States, and proposed that relations of friendship should be established between Japan and Ame-

rica, at the same time asking on his own part for an audience with the Shōgun. The *Rōjiu* Hotta Masaatsu (Bitchū-no-kami) had now taken charge of foreign affairs in place of Abe, and after considerable hesitation he allowed Mr. Harris to repair to the Shōgun's Palace, but the Government decided not to give a favourable answer to the American proposal without the sanction of the Emperor, for hitherto, despite the great importance of foreign affairs, the Tokugawa Administration had been allowed to to take any steps it pleased with reference to them without consulting the Sovereign. But despite the large measure of power enjoyed by the Edo Government, it was no longer able to effectually control the feudal barons. Hence it resolved to consult the Imperial wishes, on the one hand, while taking council of the feudal chiefs on the other. Such a vacillating and dependent method of procedure was entirely opposed to the policy pursued by the Tokugawa ever since the days of Iyeyasu, and it thus fell out that they were subsequently attacked on account of their measures by both the Court and the people, so that in his question of foreign intercourse is to be sought the proximate cause of their downfall.

At that time the Throne was occupied by Kōmei, father of the present Emperor. A wise Sovereign, he spared no pains to promote the interests of his country and people. He was in favour of keeping the country closed against the ingress of foreigners, and he therefore withheld his sanction when the Tokugawa Government's representative came to Kyōto to seek it. The *Rōjiu*, Hotta, went in person to Kyōto to try and influence the Imperial Court in the desired direction, but he had to return unsuccessful to Edo. Meanwhile, the American envoy continually pressed the Government to sign a treaty, and another

trouble simultaneously presented itself, namely, that the Shōgun Iyesada had no son, and that friction arose about the succession. Several of the most influential feudal barons desired that Yoshinobu, son of Nariakira of Mito, who represented the Hitotsubashi Family, should become Shōgun, in consideration of his high abilities; but many of the principal officers of the Tokugawa Government and the ladies of the Edo Court were opposed to the policy of Nariakira, and a conflict thus arose. The Shōgun himself was not desirous of making Yoshinobu his successor, but the steadily increasing influence of the anti-foreign party in Kyōto, the recongnised head of which was Nariakira, gave new force to the claims of the latter. Meanwhile, as the necessity of coming to some terms with America became more and more pressing, the Shōgun appointed to the post of *Tairō* the courageous Ii Naosuke (Kamon-no-Kami), having held previous consultation with him in order to determine his capacity for dealing with the crisis. It was now agreed that the five ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate, Hyōgo, Kanagawa, and Niigata should be opened to foreign trade, and a convention in that sense was concluded without reference to the Emperor. This took place in June of the fifth year of the *Ansei* era (1858), and a little later the Tokugawa Government signed treaties of similar import with Russia, England, the Netherlands and France, a report being sent to Kyōto, after the event, to the effect that these measures had been unavoidable. In the matter of the succession, the advice of the feudal barons was disregarded, and Iyemochi then little more than a child, son of the lord of Kishū became the 14th Shōgun. The Tokugawa Government thus disposed finally of the question of foreign intercourse, but the domestic affairs of the country grew more and more complicated.

SECTION X.

## *The Closing Days of the Tokugawa Government (continued). Growth of the Imperial Spirit.*

The officials of the Government who were opposed to foreign intercourse, construed into menaces the proposals advanced by the American envoy, and claimed that the country had been subjected to the shame of concluding a commercial treaty under pressure of force. The spread of that idea aroused much indignation against the Tokugawa Government, and many of the nobles, especially Nariakira of Mito, addressed memorials to Kyōto, complaining that the opening of the country to foreign trade and intercourse was contrary to the best interests of the State. It will therefore be seen that the relations between the Courts in Kyōto and Edo were of the least intimate character. Presently it began to be alleged against the Tokugawa Administration that by concluding treaties with five foreign countries without reference to the Emperor, the Sovereign had been directly insulted. Even such clans as those of Bishū, Mito, and Echizen, who stood in a position of close relationship and intimacy with the Tokugawa, did not hesitate to prefer this charge. Loyalty to the Throne and the expulsion of aliens became household words in everybody's mouth, and conflicts occurred in various places between the people who were in favour of closing the country and those who advocated its opening. It is to be noted, however, that this cry of "loyalty to the Throne" was not indicative of the growth of any new feeling, since from time immemorial the Emperor had been an object of reverence to the people. The

Tokugawa Shōguns, however, after the manner of all the great military families that acquired administrative control in Japan, had gradually asserted their own authority at the expense of that of the Emperor, and the fact had caused keen regret to many among the learned *samurai*. Thus, in the reign of Momozono when Iyeshige was Shōgun, a *rōnin* named Takenouchi Shikibu, lamenting the decline of the Imperial power, urged the officials of the Imperial Court to devote themselves to military and literary pursuits, his object being ultimately an attack on the Shōgun. He was subsequently exiled by the Tokugawa, and at a later date Yamagata Daiji, Fujii Umon, and others of the same party were arrested and put to death. With the growth of a taste for pure Japanese literature, the spirit of reverence for the Sovereign became intensified, and was inculcated with extreme earnestness by men like Takayama Masayuki, Gamō Hidezane, and others. These two scholars, Masayuki and Hidezane, together with Hayashi Tomonao, were known as the "Three Fanatics" of their time. The scripture of loyalty, as contained in the "*Dainihonshi*," was widely studied, and by the Mito folks, in whose district the book had been published, it was taken as the basis of all sound motives. Another book that exercised a similar influence was the "*Nihon-gwaishi*" of Rai Sanyō, and in proportion as the power of the Tokugawa declined, men began to talk more and more of loyalty to the Throne, and to advance charges against the signatories of the treaties with the five foreign States. Ultimately a secret Imperial Rescript was issued to the Mito clan, instructing them to unite with the Tozama barons and assist the Shōgun to expel foreigners from the country. The *Tairō* Ii, vehemently attacked for exceeding the powers that properly belonged to him, now took another

resolute and decisive step. He dismissed all the senior officials who opposed his policy, and retained in office only those that were in harmony with him. He further announced that any person placing obstacles in the way of measures adopted by the Government should be severely dealt with, and in pursuance of this declaration, he placed in confinement or dismissed from office men of such importance as Prince Sonyū Niudō (Seiren-in-no-miya), Konoye Tadahiro, and Takatsukasa Sukehiro, and inflicted penalties on the feudal barons of Owari, Mito, Echizen, Hitotsubashi, Tosa, and Uwajima. An equally severe course was adopted in the cases of the leading Tokugawa officials, Nagai, Kawaji, Iwase, and others, and more than fifty prominent retainers of noblemen, as well as *Rōnin*, scholars, priests, and even women were seized and put to death or sent into exile. These decisive proceedings procured for the period the name of the "*Ansei* Jail," but the *Tairō* had at least the satisfaction of knowing that he had shown his courage and competence to deal summarily with his opponents. Great excitement prevailed, however, among all classes of the people, the Mito *Samurai* especially being hot with indignation. On the 3rd of the third month of the following year, that is to say, the first year of the *Manyen* era (1860 A.D.), as the *Tairō* Ii was *en route* for the palace of the Shōgun during a heavy snowfall, he was attacked and killed by eighteen Mito *Rōnin* under the leadership of Sano Takenosuke, and a year later, the *Rōjiu*, Ando Nobumasa, was attacked near the Sakashita Gate of the palace. In order to restore harmony between the Courts of Kyōto and Edo, the *Bakufu* Government now arranged a marriage between the Shōgun Iyemochi and the Emperor's sister, but though the Sovereign sanctioned this union, no peace was secured by it for the country. Not only did the anti-Tokugawa

agitation continue in noble and official circles, but also *Rōnin*, partly in obedience to the exclusion policy, but chiefly seeking to increase the embarrassments of the Edo Government, attacked foreigners and burned their houses, the Shōgun's Administration showing itself powerless to check even these outrages. By degress the *Samurai*, who had separated themselves from their clans in order to carry on the agitation, assembled in Kyōto, where were already gathered great numbers of influential persons interested in the burning question of the day, and where the Emperor himself lent the sanction of his endorsement to the doings of the malcontents. To the two most powerful among all the barons, Shimazu Narishige, Lord of Satsuma, and Mōri Yoshichika, Lord of Chōshū, secret commissions were specially given by the Emperor. Before anything decisive could be accomplished, however, Narishige died and was succeeded by his younger brother, Hisamitsu, who, together with the Chōshū chief, remained in Kyōto at the head of a large force of *Samurai*, with the avowed intention of restoring tranquillity to the country. There they were joined by Yamanouchi Toyonobu, Lord of Tosa, and this triumvirate of puissant barons, Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa, began to be spoken of throughout the length and breadth of the land as the certain saviours of the situation. The Imperial Court, in obedience to the advice of these powerful councillors, now despatched an envoy to the Court in Edo conveying a command that the Shōgun should repair to Kyōto that order should be established in the affairs of the Administration, and that foreigners should be expelled from Japan. Prior to the receipt of this Rescript, the Tokugawa Government had released the various feudal barons and others then in confinement, had dismissed all officials of proved incompetence, and had effected various

reforms in the State organization, and after the arrival of the Imperial Rescript these measures were supplemented by other changes, and punishment were meted out to Ii and Andō and other officials who had been removed from office. At the same period a most significant step was taken by the Shōgun's Government: the system that required the presence of the feudal barons in Edo was abolished—a step indicative of the marked decadence of the Tokugawa power. For the first time in two centuries and a half, the power of the Imperial Court overshadowed that of the Court in Edo. An event now occurred that tended to precipitate the impending crisis. As the Satsuma chief, Shimatsu Hisamitsu, was escorting the Imperial envoy on his return journey from Edo to Kyōto, a party of four English equestrians met the procession on the Tōkaidō near Namamugi-mura of Musashi, and attempted to break through its ranks. This violation of Japanese official etiquette, an act unpardonable in the eyes of the *Samurai* was violently resented. Two of the foreigners were severely wounded, one of them shortly afterwards falling from his horse and dying by the road-side. Incensed by this affair, the British Government demanded that the men who had perpetrated the deed and the personage under whose direction it had been carried out should be arrested, and that an indemnity of a hundred thousand dollars should be paid as blood-money, a demand that greatly embarrassed the Shōgun's Ministers, who knew that, even if they had possessed the power to comply in full, the attempt must lead to the gravest domestic troubles.

In the third year of the *Bunkiu* era (1863 A.D.) the Shōgun Iyemochi repaired to Kyōto. This was the first visit paid to the Imperial capital by a Tokugawa Shōgun

since the days of Iyemitsu, two hundred years previously, and the event naturally produced a strong national impression. At that time the numerous and constantly increasing body of *Samurai* whose motto was *Sonnō Jōi* (revere the Sovereign and expel the foreigner) were exerting all their energies, going hither and thither to popularize their views, and not hesitating even to use the sword against those that opposed them. When the Shōgun arrived in Kyōto, they brought strong pressure to bear on him with the object of inducing him to adopt their policy, and after long discussion he finally agreed to do so. Notice of this important decision was given to the feudal barons on the 10th of May in the same year (1863). The Shōgun then returned without loss of time to Kwantō apprehending that his presence in Kyōto might lead to fresh complication and being further advised that affairs in Edo needed his presence. The Tokugawa Government now found itself in a grave dilemma. At once unwilling and unable to give effect to its anti-foreign policy, it had nevertheless received and accepted the Imperial order to that effect. The Ministers, therefore, adopted to only course open to them, namely, conveyed to the Foreign Representatives an intimation that it would be necessary to close the ports and put an end to foreign commerce, and, at the same time, despatched ambassadors to the Occident to explain the state of affairs in Japan. These measures, however, proved abortive. The anti-foreign sentiment was still further inflamed a few months later by openly hostile acts on the part of the feudal baron of Chōshū, who fired upon foreign vessels attempting to pass the Strait of Shimonoseki. Nevertheless, even in Kyōto there were some influential men who boldly espoused the Tokugawa cause and placed themselves in opposition to the partly working

for the overthrow of the Bakufu Government. A serious obstacle to the success of that party still existed in the fact that no effective union had yet been brought about between the powerful clans of Satsuma and Chōshū. The former advocated reconciliation between the Courts of Kyōto and Edo, whereas the Chōshū folks were in favour of more precipitate measures, involving the downfall of the Bakufu. In Kyōto the partizans of the extreme view urged the Emperor worshipping at the sepulchre of Jimmu Tennō, and then, after a visit to the Daijin-gū Shrine at Ise, to openly declare war against the Shōgun. But the programme encountered strong opposition in Kyōto at the hands of the baron of Aizu, who then held the office of military Warden of the city, and also at those of the Satsuma chief, both of whom regarded with deep regret and apprehension the strong course to which the Imperial Court seemed in danger of being committed. These nobles, forming a union with Prince Nakagawa, Konoye, and Nijō, zealously opposed the Court view ; and finally succeeded so far as to procure the expulsion from Kyōto of the Chōshū chief, who, on his return to his fief, was accompanied by Sanjō Sanetomi, afterwards destined to play a prominent part in the events of the Restoration, and six other Court nobles. The policy of the Court was now directed to the re-establishment of friendly relations with the Tokugawa Government, and the dissatisfaction engendered by this attitude led to *emeutes* by *Rōnin* at Yamato, Tajima, and other places, but they were speedily reduced to order. In the following year (1864) the Shōgun Iyemochi again proceeded to Kyōto, where his reception by the Emperor was much more gracious than it had been on the previous occasion, various commissions being given to him, with the result that harmony was for the time restored between the two Courts. Previously to

this a British Squadron had proceeded to Kagoshima to exact an indemnity on account of the Tōkaidō affair, and a sharp engagement had taken place between the ships and the Satsuma forts. This affair, however, had been brought to an amicable issue, and foreign intercourse continued as before, though the policy of the Shōgun's Government towards it remained, apparently, as undecided as ever.

## SECTION XI.

*Closing Days of the Tokugawa Government. (concluded)—Dissensions in Mito.—The Expedition against Chōshu.—Imperial Sanction of Foreign Treaties.—Restoration of the Administration to the Emperor.*

The feudal chiefs of Mito were so closely connected with the Tokugawa Government and wielded such extensive power that people called them the "Fuku Shōgun" (Vice-Shōgun). More especially was this true of the closing days of the Tokugawa rule, when Nariakira of Mito, commonly known as "Rekkō," possessed immense influence and popularity. But Nariakira died in the same year that witnessed the assassination of the *Tairō* Ii, and after his death difference of opinion arose among the Mito Samurai, many supporting but some opposing the views of Rekkō. The Government, meanwhile, paid the indemnity demanded by the foreign Representative and the anti-foreign policy of the Imperial Court underwent a change. For this reason many of the Mito *Samurai* left the service of their liege-lord, and, in April 1864, assembled at Mount Tsukuba, where they were joined by a number of other malcontents. Disorder prevailed in all the vicinity, and even within the Mito fief itself the line of division between the two parties

became openly marked, both sides carrying their enmity to such extremes that great numbers of persons fell victims to the sword. The Tokugawa Government issued orders that troops should be sent by various feudal barons against the insurgents, Tanuma Okinori the *Wakadoshiyori*, being placed at the head of these forces. The tumult was quickly quelled, and over 700 of the rebels were variously punished. This event seriously impaired the prestige and influence of the Lord of Mito.

While the Tsukuba insurgents were still in the field the Tokugawa Government found itself involved in an open quarrel with Chōshū. The Lord of Chōshū had been forbidden to enter Kyōto in consequence of his obdurate hostility to the policy of the Tokugawa, and the issue of such a mandate naturally caused great umbrage to his lieges. In June, 1864, they presented a memorial to the Throne, setting forth their loyalty and praying that the ban of exclusion from the capital might be removed from their feudal chief and his son, as well as from Sanjō and the six other Court nobles who had fled with him to Chōshū for refuge. By degrees *Rōnin* from Chōshū assembled in the environs of the Imperial city, and after some preliminary collisions they entered Kyōto and openly engaging the troops of Aizu and Satsuma, who guarded the city, were totally defeated. This act of contumacy provoked an Imperial Edict depriving the elder and younger Lords of Chōshū of their rank and commissioning the Shōgun Iyemochi to attack Chōshū. Tokugawa Yoshikatsu, Lord of Bishū, was thereupon nominated Commander-in-Chief of an expedition organized in obedience to this Edict, and Matsudaira Yoshinaga, Lord of Echizen, received the post of second in command, a very powerful army being raised in Sanyō, San-in, Nankai, and Saikai. Just at this

time a squadron composed of British, American, French, and Dutch vessels of war entered the Striats of Shimonoseki to exact reparation from the men of Chōshū who had fired upon foreign vessels passing through the Strait, as related in a previous section. Attempts to avert hostilities by negotiation having proved abortive, the Chōshū forts were bombarded and dismantled by the foreign vessels, and a peace was afterwards concluded, the Chōshū folks pledging themselves to give free passage to foreign ships, and to pay an indemnity of three million dollars. This large sum, though subsequently paid by the Tokugawa Government, was denounced as excessive by foreign jurists as well as Japanese statesmen, and the portion that fell to the share of the United States of America was returned to Japan more than twenty years afterwards. Pending the settlement of this affair, the Tokugawa military operation against Chōshū were delayed, and as the latter put to death three of the leaders of the disturbance in Kyōto and made ample apologies for their offence, the force destined for the invasion of their fief was disbanded. There were, however, two parties in Chōshū; the one in favour of submitting to the Shōgun so as to avert misfortunes otherwise apparently threatening the Mōri House; the other advocating determined resistance to the Tokugawa. At the head of the latter part was Takasugi Shinsaku, and he, having established relations with Sanjō and the other Court nobles then refugees in Chōshū, succeeded in completely overcoming the pacific faction and obtaining ascendency in the clan. The Edo Government now found itself openly defied by Chōshō, and a strong agitation arose in favour of inflicting summary punishment on the Mōri Family, it being urged that the course pursued on the occasion of the expedition under Yoshikatsu had been over-renient. Against this counsel Yoshikatsu him-

self and other powerful barons raised their voices, but, after considerable hesitation, an expeditionary force was organized and moved southward, the Shōgun himself accompanying it. A marked incident of this occasion was the refusal of the Satsuma chieftein to send a quota of troops for service with the Shōgun. The great Kagoshima baron's prestige and power were then very great, and had been increased by the part which the Satsuma men played when the Chōshū *Rōnin* forced their way into Kyōto. Moreover, there had long existed between the two clans of Satsuma and Chōshū rivalry amounting at times to bitter enmity. But both Satsuma and Chōshū possessed at this crisis men who saw that in the union of the two great clans lay the only hope, of unifying and consolidating the empire. Foremost among these far-seeing statesman was Saigō Takamori of Satsuma. He never wavered in his conviction that no lasting amity could be established between the Courts of Kyōto and Edo, and that the only solution of the national difficulties lay in the overthrow of the Tokugawa. To this view his fellow-clansmen subscribed, and relations were opened with Chōshū which finally led to the hearty cöoperation of the two clans. Hence the refusal of the Satsuma baron to send a contingent of troops in the campaign against Chōshū. *En route* for Chōshū the Shōgun stopped at Ōsaka, where he was approached by the Representatives of Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States of America, who came to Hyōgo and insisted that it should be opened for trade according to the provisions of the Edo Treaty, and that the Treaty should be ratified by the Emperor. The Shōgun, after reference to the Sovereign, declined to entertain this demands, and the foreign Representatives thereupon threatened to prefer it in person to the Throne. The Imperial court incensed at the course events were

taking, punished the chief officials of the Shōgun who were directly responsible for the Hyōgo Port Negotiation, and this, having been done without reference to the Shōgun himself, placed the latter in such an embarrassing position that he laid his resignation at the foot of the Throne and asked that Hitotsubashi Yoshinobu be appointed in his stead. He occompanied this document with a memorial praying for the Imperial sanction to the Treaty with foreign Powers. The Emperor declined to accept the Shōgun's resignation, but gave his sanction to the Treaty, the immediate opening of Hyōgo to foreign trade being, however, refused. Subsequently to these events, the expedition against Chōshū was again put in motion, but the Chōshū men inflicted a crushing defeat upon it, and inasmuch as this was the first occasion of a Shōgun's taking the field in person since the *Genna*, era (1615 A.D.), the consequences were disastrous to the Tokugawa prestige, many of the feudal barons renouncing allegiance to the Edo Court. While the campaign was still in progress, the Shōgun Iyemochi died in the Castle of Ōsaka (August, 1866) and was succeeded by Hitotsubashi Yoshinobu in December of the same year. On the death of Iyemochi, the Emperor withdrew his commission ordering the Tokugawa to punish Chōshū, and entrusted the settlement of the affair to the council of feudal lords. But in the very month that saw the succession of Hitotsubashi to the Shogunate, the Emperor sickened of small-pox and died, to the intence regret of the whole nation. Owing to this sad event the expedition against Chōshū was finally abandoned. Thereafter the Shōgun found himself confronted by such difficulties both at home and abroad, that further tenure of office became impossible. Acting, therefore on the advice of Yamanouchi Toyonobu, Ex-Lord of Tosa, he resigned

the office of Shōgun and restored the administrative power into the hands of the Sovereign. This memorable event occurred on October 14th in the third year of the *Keiō* era (1867 A.D.).

## CHAPTER IX.

### *The Period of the Restoration of Administrative Power to the Sovereign and of the Introduction of Constitutional Government.*

### SECTION I.

### *Restoration of the Administration to the Emperor.— Removal of the Capital from Kyōto to Tōkyō.*

The Shōgun having restored the administration to the Emperor, supplemented this act by resigning his high office of Sei-i-Taishōgun, but was ordered to retain the post pending the decision of the feudal barons who were summoned by the Sovereign to meet and consult upon this point as well as upon the general policy to be pursued. The results of these consultations, in which Saigō Takamori and Ōkubo Toshimichi of Satsuma were invited by Iwakura Tomomi to take part, were that the Chōshū baron and his son received the Imperial pardon and permission to re-enter Kyōto; that these nobles as well as Sanjō Sanetomi were restored to their former ranks; that the soldiers of Satsuma, Chōshū, Geishū, Bishū, and Echizen were entrusted with the duty of guarding Kyōto in place of the men of Aizu and Kuwana, who were sent away;

that, at a shortly subsequent date, radical changes were effected in official posts and emoluments, the offices of *Sōsai*, *Gitei*, and *Sanyo* being newly established under the Presidency of Prince Arisugawa Taruhito. The first *Gitei* were Princes Ninnaji Yoshiaki and Yamashina Akira, together with Sanjō Sanetomi, Iwakura Totomi, and the barons of Satsuma, Echizen, Tosa, and so forth. The *Sanyo* were Ōhara Shigenori, Saigō Takamori, and Ōkubo Toshimichi, and so forth. More than twenty Court nobles were removed from office and the administrative power was assumed in effect by a government under the direct control of the Sovereign. This events received the name of "*Goisshin*," and is known to Westerns as the Imperial Restoration.

While these changes were in progress, the Tokugawa chief remained in concealment. On the 10th of December, it was announced to him by order of the Emperor through the medium of the barons of Bishū and Echizen, that his administrative functions had been transferred to the Emperor, and he was at the same time privately instructed to resign his post of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and to surrender the provinces hitherto forming his fief. The news of these instructions produced great excitement among the Fudai Barons, and the Shōgun, apprehending that they might resort to violence on his behalf, petioned the Sovereign to allow him temporarily to retain the post of Lord Keeper of the Seals as well as to hold the provinces of his fief, though he repeated his expression of resolve to divest himself of all administration authority. This course did not, however, entirely allay the umbrage of the Fudai Barons, especially Matsudaira Katamori, Lord of Aizu, and Matsudaira Sadataka, Lord of Kuwana. The Shōgun himself, suspecting that

the order stripping him of his dignities and possessions had been issued at the instigation of the chiefs of Satsuma and Chōshu, withdrew from the Nijō Palace and shut himself up in the Castle of Ōsaka. There, however, he was urgently counselled by the barons of Bishū and Echizen to abandon all resistance to the Throne and to present himself peacefully at the Imperial Court, and in obedience to this advice he was about to enter Kyōto guarded by a powerful escort, when intelligence reached him from Edo to the effect that a number of Satsuma *Rōnin*, having assembled at the Satsuma mansion in that city, had fired on a barrack occupied by Tokugawa troops, and that the latter had consequently attacked the Satsuma mansion and driven out its occupants, who had taken refuge in a war-ship anchored in Shinagawa Bay. Incensed by this news, the Shōgun, on the 3rd of January in the first year of the *Meiji* era, issued orders to the various clans to combine for the purpose of attacking Satsuma. He commenced the campaign by mustering the troops of Aizu and Kuwana in Kyōto and marching to attack the forces of Satsuma and Chōshu. But in the engagements that ensued at Fushimi and Toba the Shōgun's army was completely defeated, and the Shōgun, falling under the charge of taking up arms against the Throne, Prince Yoshiaki was formally ordered by the Imperial Court to lead a punitory expedition against him. The Shōgun thereupon retired to Edo by sea, accompanied by the forces of Aizu and Kuwana, and he himself, together with the Lords of Aizu and Kuwana and twenty-seven other feudal chiefs, were deprived by the Emperor of all their official ranks and offices, the duty of breaking their power by force of arms being entrusted to the barons of Geishū, Chōshū and Tosa. Further, officials entitled *Chinbu-sōtoku* were despatched to the various pro-

vinces to restore peace, and their presence impressed the feudal barons so strongly that no resistance was offered, and the provinces to the west of Kyōto and Ōsaka surrendered without hesitation to the Imperial Government. On the 9th of February Prince Taruhito (Arisugawa) received the commission of *Taisōtoku* (commander-in-chief), with instructions to bring the east under control, and under his orders the Imperial forces moved upon Tōkai, Tōsan, and Hokuriku. The Prince entered Sumpu on the 5th of March and made preparations for the assault of Edo. Before the attack took place, however, the Shōgun retired to a temple in Edo called Kwanyei-ji, and despatched Ōkubo Tadahiro, Katsu Yoshikuni, and others to open negotiations with Saigō Takamori, General of the Imperial forces then about to move on the eastern capital. Prince Taruhito thereupon despatched Takamori to Kyōto to seek the Imperial pleasure with regard to the proposed surrender of the Tokugawa and the steps to be adopted in its sequel. Finally, on March 4th, the van of the Imperial army entered Edo and occupied the castle, the Shōgun Yoshinobu being granted his life and confined in Mito. Edo Castle was seized together with all the ships and weapons of war belonging to the Tokugawa, and suitable punishments were inflicted on the officials who had been concerned in the rebellion. On the 15th of the same month Prince Taruhito entered Edo, and in May a grant of lands yielding 700,000 *koku* of rice annually in Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mutsu, was made to the Tokugawa Family for its maintenance, peace being thus finally restored.

When the Imperial forces took possession of Edo Castle, Enomoto Takeaki, a naval officer of the Tokugawa Government, fled to Ezo, taking with him eight war-vessels,

and Ōtori Keisuke retired to Kazusa and Shimoosa. Further, a number of the Tokugawa vassals, calling themselves *Shōgitai* (the loyal band), took refuge in Tōyeizan, a temple in Uyeno, and placing Prince Rinnōji, the Lord Abbot of Kwanyei-ji, at their head, refused to surrender to the Imperial Government. There they were attacked by His Majesty's forces, and defeated after a sharp engagement, while Ōtori Keisuke and his comrades, routed at Utsunomiya and Nikkō, fled to Aizu, the feudal lord of which place had already returned thither, and in conjunction with the barons of Ōshū and Dewa had made preparations to uphold the Tokugawa cause by force of arms. But the Imperial troops, advancing from Tōsan, and Hokuriku, brought into subjection the two clans of Sendai and Yonezawa, and entiring Aizu, took Wakamatsu Castle on the 22nd of September, thus completely breaking the resistance of the rebels, and restoring tranquillity throughout the northern regions. In December, Matsudaira Katamori was granted his life, but sentenced to perpetual confinement, and the fiefs of Sendai, Shōnai, and Morioka, which had made act of submission after the fall of Wakamatsu, were confiscated, their lords being sentenced to confinement. As for the Yonezawa fief, its territory was reduced and its lord ordered to surrender the management of affairs to his heir, while the fiefs of Ōshū and Dewa were divided into five and two provinces, respectively. Meanwhile, Enomoto Takeaki and his followers, alleging the intention of undertaking the reclamation and cultivation of lands in Ezo, had occupied the fortress at Hakodate and obtained possession of a great part of the northern island. Orders were, therefore, issued by the Emperor that the clans of Satsuma, Chōshū, and others should undertake the subjugation of these rebels, and in May 1868 they surrendered to the Imperial forces. In

August of the same year the name Ezo was changed to Hakkaidō, and it was divided into eleven provinces.

Towards the final days of the Tokugawa rule the advocates of closing the country to foreign intercourse had been very numerous and influential, and the Shōgun's liberal attitude had exposed him to odium which helped not a little to precipitate his downfall. The most far-seeing of the men opposed to him understood throughly that national isolation was no longer possible for Japan, but they perceived also that centralization of the Government was necessary in the interests of the country, and they were consequently not unwilling to utilize the anti-foreign sentiment as an instrument for attacking the Tokugawa. Thus, on January 9th, 1867, Imperial officers of foreign affairs were appointed, their President being Prince Yoshiaki, who held that post in addition to his other functions. Sanjō Sanetomi, Higashikuze Michitomo, and Gotō Shōjirō were at the same time nominated as a committee to investigate matters relating to foreign intercourse. On the 15th of the same month, an intimation was conveyed to the Foreign Representatives in Edo that the term "Taikun," which had been used in the Treaties to designate the Shōgun, should be changed to "Tennō" (Emperor), and that the administration of the country would thenceforth be conducted by the Emperor in person. An Imperial Rescript was also issued and promulgated throughout the realm, declaring that the Government had established relations of amity with Foreign Powers and that the people should thereafter avoid being misled by mistaken views as to foreign intercourse. During the disturbances incidental to the fall of the Tokugawa, foreign States, at the instance of the Sovereign and the Shōgun alike, had maintained a position

of neutrality, but it happened unfortunately that outrages were committed by deluded persons, and that foreigners were either wounded or killed. In such cases the Imperial Government treated these incidents in a kindly spirit and paid liberal indemnities to the sufferers of their families.

During the confusion that naturally prevailed in both the domestic and foreign affairs of the empire at a time of such radical change, the *Dajōkwan*, or Chief Department of State, was created, in January 13th, 1867, and four days later it was divided into seven sections, namely, Religion, Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Treasury, Justice, and Law. Further, the ablest men of the various clans were selected to fill the posts of Councillors and legislative officials, and by degrees the Government was so organized as to put an end to the old system of hereditary office, *Samurai* of comparatively low rank being nominated for high positions according to their merits, and the influence attaching to their posts being fully exercised by them. On the 14th of March of that year, the Emperor proceeded to the Shishinden Palace, and there, in the presence of the Court Nobles and Feudal Barons, made solemn oath that, from that time forth, administrative affairs should be decided by general deliberation; that both Government and people should labour for the good of the nation; that encouragement should be given to industrial pursuits; that the evil customs hitherto prevailing should be corrected; and that the country should be strengthened by adopting the systems of defence employed in foreign lands. This oath of five items was intended to be the foundation of constitutional government. Shortly afterwards the administrative organization was again recast, and it was decided that the same official must not be appointed at the same

time to legislative, executive, and judicial posts. The term of office was also fixed at four years, and the system of appointment by merit received further development. Officials, however, who showed themselves able and obtained popularity, were allowed to remain in office after the expiration of their first term of service. For purposes of local administration the provinces were divided into *Fu*, *Han*, and *Ken*, the *Han* being governed by the feudal barons and the *Fu* and *Ken* by officials (*Chiji*) appointed by the Sovereign. On July 17th the name of the eastern capital was changed from "Edo" to "Tōkyo" and an office called *Chinshōfu* was established there, its function being to supervice the affairs of the eastern provinces. On the 27th of August the old-fashioned ceremonial costume based on the Chinese was abolished, and the Coronation rites were duly performed at the Shishinden Palace. On September 4th, in accordance with the custom of changing the year-name on the accession of an Emperor, the era was called *Meiji* (enlightened government). So soon as tranquillity was restored in Ōshu and Dewa, the Emperor removed to Tōkyo and took up his residence in the castle there, which has since been called the "Tōkyo Castle," the *Chinshōfu* mentioned above being at the same time abolished. In December the Sovereign revisited Kyōto for a period, but in the following March he returned to Tōkyo, which thenceforth became the capital of the Empire.

After the final surrender of the Shōgun's forces and the complete pacification of the Empire, rewards were bestowed upon those who had distinguished themselves in the Imperial cause. Sanjō Sanetomi and thirty-three others who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about

the Restoration, received pensions in perpetuity as well as other gifts, and were raised in rank. A shrine, called *Shōkon-sha*, was built at Kudan, in Tōkyō, in memory of those whose lives had been sacrificed in the Imperial cause. Posthumous names were selected for the three Emperors Kōbun, Junjin, and Chūkyō. Annuities were granted to the families of men who had died in battle for the Imperial cause or devoted their lives to the propagandism of loyal principles. Posthumous ranks were bestowed on others, and various means were employed to signify the Throne's approval of deeds performed on behalf of the nation now unified under the Imperial sway.

## SECTION II.

### *Abolition of Han and establishment of Ken.*

The first administrative division of the country after the abolition of the Shogunate was into 28 *Fu*, 273 *Han*, and 21 *Ken*. The *Han*, however, being still under the Government of their former feudal chiefs, the methods followed in each varied more or less, and no uniformity of administration was possible. Of the total revenue of the State, namely, eleven miilion *koku* of rice, only 1⅘ miliions belonged to the *Fu* and *Ken*, which were under the direct control of the Central Government, the remainder constituting the income of the *Han*. Thus the Imperial Treasury's resources proved quite inadequate to meet the heavy calls made upon them, and though some of the barons contributed liberally, the Government found itself in serious financial straits. Kido Takakoto, a distinguished *Samurai* of Chōshū, then holding the post of Councillor of State, appreciating the fundamental necessity

of the time, made such powerful representations to his liege lord, the chief of Chōshū, that the latter agreed to surrender his feudal domains and their revenues to the Sovereign. Kido subsequently took council on the same subject with Ōkubo Toshimichi, a not less distinguished retainer of Satsuma, and by Ōkubo's advice the Satsuma Chief was induced to follow the course taken by Mōri of Chōshū, the two lords sympathising with and seeking to give practical effect to the programme of their statesman vassals. The Lords of Hizen and Tosa adopted the same view, and on January 20th, 1868, these four great nobles addressed to the Throne a memorial over their joint signatures, declaring their desire to restore their territories to the Sovereign, and their conviction that all the lands in the empire should come under the direct control of the Central Government. Thereafter the various other barons signified their wish to follow the same course, and in the sequel of a consultation held with all the feudal chiefs, whom the Emperor summoned to Tōkyō for the purpose, an Imperial Edict was issued, directing that all the fiefs should be restored to the Sovereign, appointing the feudal lords to the post of Governor, and remodelling the administrative organization of the *Han* so as to bring it into conformity with that of the *Fu* and *Ken*. One-tenth of the revenue accruing from the fief lands was apportioned as the salary of the Governors. The distinctive terms of "Court Noble" *(Kuge)* and "Feudal Lord" *(Daimyō)* were abolished, and all the nobles were included in the general appellation of *Kwazoku*. Relatives of the *Kwazoku* and *Samurai* were all classed as *Shizoku*, their pensions being, at the same time, duly fixed.

Owing to the rapidity of these radical changes, it naturally happened that the conservative instincts educated

by centuries of military government, remained effective in many cases, with the result that men conspicuous as advocates of innovation were sometimes attacked and assassinated, and armed resistance was occasionally planned. Thus Sakuma Zōzan, who had insisted on the necessity of opening the country to foreign intercourse, Councillor Yokoi Heishirō, and Senior Vice-Minister of the Army, Ōmura Masujirō, fell under the swords of assassins in consequence of their ardent liberalism; while, on the other hand, Kumoi Tatsuo, a *Samurai* of Yonezawa plotted with the *Samurai* of Aizu and Shizuoka to restore the feudal system by force. But this as well as some minor attempts of a similar character in other parts of the Empire, were quickly dealt with, the nation as a whole being emphatically favourable to the new order of things.

The organization of the local Government had been placed on a fairly complete footing, and uniformity of method had begun to be discernible, when the Government found itself embarrassed by the disposition of both the military classes and the commoners in the various fiefs, whose tendency to pay more respect to their ex-chiefs than to the officials of the Central Authorities, was marked. Under these circumstances, Yamanouchi Toyonori, Governor of Kōchi, suggested that the military monopoly of the *Samurai* should be abolished and their pensions commuted; that the army should be recruited from the *Shizoku* and *Seimin* indiscriminately, and that the whole nation, the nobles excepted, should be divided into the three classes of *Samurai*, *Heisotsu*, and *Heimin*. Kido Takakoto also recommended that the *Han* (fiefs) should be replaced by *Ken* (prefectures), so as to thoroughly centralize the administrative power, and this programme he was sup-

ported by Ōkubo Toshimichi. In November of the 3rd year of *Meiji* (1869), the Emperor despatched the *Dainagon*, Iwakura Tomomi, to Yamaguchi and Kagoshima, to summon the lords of Chōshū and Satsuma to come and take part in the administration of affairs, the summons being afterwards emphasized by the despatch of Kido to Yamaguchi and Ōkubo to Kagashima. The two great chiefs obeyed the summons. About this time, Mōri Takachika, Lord of Chōshū, died leaving behind him a solemn petition to the Imperial Court that the remaining abuses of feudalism should be removed and the foundation of the empire placed on a unifrom and strong basis. Memorials from the other barons arrived in succession, urging the abolition of the *Han* and the establishment of *Ken* in their place. On the 14th of July, 1871, the Emperor proceeded to the Chief Hall of the Palace, and summoning to his presence all the local Governors then assembled in Tōkyō, made proclamation that the *Han* should be abolished and *Ken* established instead. Ample rewards were given to the Governors of Kagoshima, Yamaguchi, Saga, and Kōchi, who had taken the lead in urging this change, and the Sovereign expressed his gratitude to the four Governors of Nagoya, Kumamoto, Tottori, and Tokushima, who had suggested the advisability of other local administrative reforms. The former feudal lords, who had been discharging the duties of local Governors, were now granted annuities and ordered to reside in Tōkyō, their *Shizoku*, however, being directed to live in their respective prefectures *(Ken)*. Thus the Central Government came into full control of the lands and people who had been under the sway of military chiefs ever since of the Kamakura Epoch. Throughout the whole existence of the State, the Emperor, through an unbroken line of succession, had re-

ceived the homage and reverence of the nation. Thus, though in the middle ages he had been shorn of much of his power by military barons, the patriotic and far-seeing men who planned and carried out the *Meiji* reforms were able to appeal to the people's hereditary and unalterable sense of loyalty, and to accomplish their purpose with the aid of national endorsement.

The 266 *Han* (fiefs) hitherto existing were now reduced to 72 *Ken* (prefectures) and 3 *Fu* (cities), the prefectures being subdivided into *Gun* (districts). Subsequently, various changes of boundaries were effected, and in the 23rd year of *Meiji* (1890) the system had become 43 Prefectures, 3 Cities, and one Board of Administration *(Chō)*.

After the Restoration much embarrassment was experienced by the Imperial Treasury. When the fiefs were restored to the Sovereign, the annuities of the *Kwazoku* and *Shizoku* were paid in rice, but on the abolition of the *Han* it became necessary for the Central Government to assume the responsibility of the fiduciary notes previously issued by the various feudal lords. To meet this liability the Government issued, in lieu of the fiduciary notes, bonds redeemable within 50 years, and for the purpose of satisfying the claims of the *Shizoku*, an envoy—Yoshida Kiyonari—was sent to England to raise a sum of ten million *yen*. This, Japan's first foreign debt, was contracted in 1872. In the following year the system of commuting annuities was fixed, those whose incomes ranged from 100 *koku* downwards being allowed, on application, to commute at six years' purchase, half of the commutation money being paid in cash and the remainder in public bonds. The system was subsequently extended to incomes of over 100 *koku*, and in August, 1876,

the method of commutation was made compulsorily applicable to the income of all the *Shizoku*, bonds being handed to them in the following year. These bonds, carrying interest at different rates, were to be liquidated annualy by lot, their total redemption to be effected in 30 years. The whole have not yet been redeemed.

The *Shizoku*, who from ancient time had devoted themselves to military and literary pursuits, despising industy and trade, now found themselves detached from their feudal lords on whom they had relied and deprived of their lands and pensions. Receiving sums of mony in commutation of their hereditary incomes, many of them, without training or experience, turned at once to commerce and agriculture, and in numerous instances those who had become merchants fell victims to their own want of knowledge and to the craft of others, losing everything they possessed and incurring the contempt of the mercantile classes whom they had so long counted their inferiors.

## SECTION III.

### *Organization of the Meiji Administration.*

At the commencement of the *Meiji* era the *Dajōkwan* or Chief Department of State, was established, and within it were three Presidents and eight Bureaux. The system was also introduced of appointing officials by merit, selection being made by the Central Government on recommendations by the various feudal lords, so that the most capable *Samurai* were enlisted in the service of the Administration. When the capital was removed to Tōkyō, an office for the

management of public affairs was created there, and the Sovereign declared that public opinion should be consulted in carrying on the Government, and that the administration should be made the subject of consultation with the chiefs of the various clans. Further, an office called *Taishō-kyoku* was established for the purpose of enabling the people to record their views on States affairs. Several administrative changes and reforms were subsequently effected, and rules relating to ranks were promulgated. On the abolition of the *Han*, three offices, called *Sei-in*, *Sa-in*, and *U-in*—the offices of the front, the left, and the right—were organized in the *Dajō-kwan*. The members of the *Sei-in* were a *Dajō-daijin*, or Chief Minister of State, and a certain number of *Nagon*, *Sangi*, and *Sūmitsushi*. These discharged the functions of general administration. The *Sa-in*, whose duties were legislative, consisted of President and an establishment of members. The *U-in* was an office where the heads of the various departments met and discussed affairs. In addition to the above, there were the Department of Religion, of Foreign Affairs, of Finance, of the Army and Navy, of Education, of Public Works, of Justice, and of the Imperial Household. Officials were of three ranks, *Chokunin*, *Sōnin*, and *Hannin*. Thus a tolerable degree of order was introduced into public affairs. With regard to laws, those enacted by the Shōgun's Government were revised, and a new code, called the *Shinritsu Kōryō* was promulgated.

With a view to informing foreign countries about the changes that had taken place in Japan, and of revising the Treaties, Iwakura Tomomi, Minister of the Left, was despatched to Europe and America as Ambassador, accompanied by Kido Takakoto, State Councillor; Ōkubo

Toshimichi, Minister of Finance; Itō Hirobumi, Senior Vice-Minister of Public Works; and Yamaguchi Naoyoshi, Junior Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Secretaries from the various departments being also sent in order to make themselves acquainted with the conditions existing abroad. Meanwhile, the *Sangi* (Councillors of State) and the Ministers of the various Departments, spared no pains to effect improvements in internal affairs, the military system especially being entirely re-modelled. Hitherto soldiers to form the Imperial Guard had been raised in Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa, and the remaining force had consisted of five Garrison Corps (*Chindai*), quartered at different places and recruited from Cities and Prefectures in the proportion of five men per 10,000 *koku* of rice crop. In the fifth year of *Meiji* (1872), the military Department (*Hyōbushō*) was replaced by two separate Departments of War and the Navy, and in December of that year an Imperial Ordinance provided that soldiers should be recruited from all parts of the Empire and all classes of the people, the monopoly of military service held by the *Samurai* being thus abolished and the method existing a thousand years previously restored. At the same time it was clearly indicated that the command-in-chief of all the forces devolved on the Sovereign. All persons of twenty years or upwards were liable for conscription, and the Army was divided into Troops with the Colours (*Jōbi-hei*), the Reserve (*Kōbi-hei*) and the "Landwher" (*Kokumin-gun*). Subsequently all the castles in the fiefs were dismantled with the exception of fifty-five, which were handed over to the War Department, and the number of the Garrison Corps was increased to six, their head-quarters being Tōkyō, Sendai, Nagoya, Ōsaka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto. Various new regulations relating to military matters were afterwards issued from time to

time, or revisions of the old effected, a Colonial Militia for Hokkaidō being among the new measures. Meanwhile, the Naval Department established naval stations, built dock-yards and ships of war, and opened colleges, so that the organizations of the two branches of the military service were placed on a satisfactory footing.

Just when the affairs of the centralized Government seemed to be assuming a settled and well ordered condition, dissension arose among the Ministers of the Crown with regard to the policy to be pursued towards Korea. Throughout the Tokugawa period it had been customary for Korea on each occasion of the succession of Shōgun, to send an ambassador to Japan for the purpose of confirming the friendly relations between the two States. When the Restoration took place in Japan, the Government of the latter empire despatched an envoy to Korea to convey intelligence of the fact and to renew expressions of amity. But the Koreans refused to recognise the envoy or accept his message, owing ostensibly to the fact that the term "Great Empire of Japan" was employed in the Imperial letter. At a later date, the Japanese, despite this treatment, sent home certain Koreans who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Japan, and took the opportunity of renewing expressions of friendship by the mouths of the officials who escorted the castaways. Korea received the shipwrecked sailors, but declined to receive the officials accompanying them, and in consequence of this insulting conduct the necessity for war was insisted on by Saigō Takamori, Soyeshima Taneomi, Itagaki Taisuke, Gotō Shōjirō, and Etō Shimpei, Councillors of State. The other chief officials of the Government, headed by Ōkubo Toshimichi, opposed this view, and being supported by the Minister of the Left,

Iwakura, who had just returned from his Occidental mission, the peace party carried the day. They did so, however, at the expense of a rupture in the Ministry. The advocates of recourse to arms resigned, and a new Cabinet was organized, under Iwakura and Ōkubo. This was the first change of Cabinet in Japan since the Restoration.

Itagaki, Gotō and others did not accept their defeat without a struggle. They addressed to the Government a memorial urging the expediency of establishing a national assembly at once in Japan, and much excitement ensued. But the Government rejected the memorial on the ground that events were not ripe for such a radical measure. Nevertheless, the embryo of a deliberate assembly was in truth formed at about this time, for the local Governors were all summoned to Tōkyo, and invited to discuss in conclave questions relating to roads, rivers, bridges, the relief of the destitute, public meetings, and other matters connected with their jurisdictions. Moreover, in 1875 (the eighth year of *Meiji*) a Senate was organized for legislative purposes, its members being appointed from among men conspicuous for merit and capacity. In 1876 and 1877, owing to rebellious disturbances fomented by Councillors of State who had seceded in connection with the Korean question, the local Governors were not summoned to Tōkyo for consultation, but in 1878 they assembled in the capital and discussed questions relating to local re-organization, to City and Prefectural Assemblies—the bases of a future parliament—and to local taxes. Subsequently to this meeting, rules relating to the organisation of Towns, Villages, Districts, and Divisions were promulgated, as well as rules relating to the collection of taxes, and in 1878 the system of Local Assemblies was

established in each City and Prefecture. The members of these Assemblies were elected by the people and from the people, and the Assemblies were invested with extensive deliberative functions in relation to local administration. In the following years the Governors were again summoned to Tōkyo, for the purpose of deliberating about relief funds and revising the rules discussed at the previous meeting, these rules being supplemented by others relating to the organization of Divisions, Towns, and Villages. Meanwhile, the advocates of popular rights increased in number and influence day by day. Newspaper press had arisen which made this subject of favourite topic of discussion, and political associations were formed which agitated for the establishment of a Diet or petitioned the Government in that sense. In view of this gradually growing excitement and to avert contingencies incidental to it, regulations were issued for the better control of newspapers and political meetings. In 1880, a political party, destined subsequently to play a prominent part in national affairs, was organized, the *Jiyū-tō* (liberals), under the leadership of Itagaki Taisuke, while within the Government Ōkuma Shigenobu, a Councillor of State, advocated the opening of a national assembly without delay. The Ministers of the Crown, however, adhered to their former decision that the time was not ripe. Undiscouraged by this refusal, the advocates of a parliamentary system continued their agitation, and spared no pains to injure the credit of the Cabinet with the nation. The Sovereign, therefore, judging it expedient to announce publicly the intentions entertained by him, with the advice of his Ministers, issued, in October 1881, a Rescript declaring that in the 23rd year of *Meiji* (1890) a Constitutional Government should be established. Ōkuma Shigenobu, to-

gether with Kōno Togama and others, now resigned their official positions and organized a political party, the *Kaishin-tō* (progressionists), which, though occupying a common platform with the *Jiyū-tō* in respect of a national assembly, worked in general opposition to the latter. At a much later date a third party, hostile to both of the above, was formed, namely, the *Kokumin Kyōkai*, or national unionists.

Immediately after the issue of the Rescript fixing the date for opening the Diet, the Government set about drafting the Constitution, the utmost care and research being brought to bear on this important work. In the spring of 1882, Itō Hirobumi was despatched on a special mission to Europe, for the purpose of investigating the constitutional law of the various States and its practical applications and on his return a legislative bureau, charged with the functions of drafting the Constitution, revising the laws, and remodelling the official organization, was established. In 1884, titles of nobility—Prince, Marquis, Count, Viscount, and Baron—were created, patents being granted to over five hundred of the former territorial and Court nobies, as well as to officials distinguished for services rendered to the State. In February of the following year (1885) great changes were effected in the Administrative Organization. The offiffices of *Dajō Daijin*, *Sadaijin*, *Udaijin*, *Sangi*, and Ministers of Departments were abolished, and in their stead were created Ministers of State for Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, the Navy, Education, Justice, Agriculture and Commerce, and Communications, these Ministers constituting a Cabinet under the leadership of the Minister President and the Presidency of the Emperor himself. Outside the

Cabinet were the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and a number of Court Councillors, while in each Department there was a Vice-Minister, as well as Director and Vice-Director of each of its Bureaus, together with Councillors and Secretaries. These changes were much more radical than anything previously effected during the *Meiji* era, all other reforms having been mere modifications of the old system prescribed in the *Taihō-ryō*. At the same time, regulations proving for the appointment of civil officials by competitive examination were promulgated, and various new laws, ordinances, and so forth, were made. One most important effect of this great reform was that it put an end completely to the pernicious system of selecting officials from personal considerations without regard to competence. No changes of a radical character have since that time been effected in the Administration. Count Itō Hirobumi, the chief author of these reforms, became the first Minister President of State. In the 21st year of *Meiji* (1888), a Privy Council was established, its members being selected from among old and distinguished officials, and its function being to advice the Sovereign with respect to any matter submitted by His Majesty for its deliberation. Count Itō became its President, resigning his post of Minister President of State to Count Kuroda Kiyotaka. In the same year, a large body of laws for the reorganization of Cities, Towns, and Villages was promulgated, to go into effect from the year 1891, and these laws were followed in 1890, by similar statutes for the organization of Prefectures, Districts, and so forth, the general purport of all this legislation being local autonomy.

The 11th of February in the 22nd year of *Meili* (1889)

saw the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution. His Majesty the Emperor delivered from the Throne the following speech on that memorable occasion :—

"Whereas We make it the joy and glory of Our heart to behold the prosperity of Our country, and the welfare of Our subjects, We do hereby, in virtue of the supreme power we inherit from Our Imperial Ancestors, promulgate the present immutable fundamental law, for the sake of Our present subjects and their descendants.

"The Imperial Founder of Our House and Our other Imperial Ancestors, by the help and support of the forefathers of Our subjects, laid the foundation of Our Empire upon a basis which is to last forever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of Our country, is due to the glorious virtues of Our Sacred Imperial Ancestors, and the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their country, and their public spirit. Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial Ancestors, We doubt not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views, and will sympathize with all Our endeavours, and that, harmoniously Cöoperating together, they will share with Us Our hope of making manifest the glory of Our country, both at home and abroad, and of securing forever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial Ancestors."

The promulgation of the Constitution took place in

the Throne Room of the Tōkyō Palace, the Princes of the Blood, Ministers of State, Peers, Governors of Cities and Prefectures, Presidents of City and Prefecture Assemblies, the Foreign Representatives, and all officials of higher ranks being present. The Constitution consisted of 76 Articles contained in 7 Chapters. It provided for the perpetuity of the Imperial succession; defined the Imperial prerogatives and the privileges granted to the people; declared the latter's obligations to pay taxes and serve as soldiers, but guaranteed them against being arrested, imprisoned, tried, or punished except by due process of law: decreed the inviolability of person and property; granted freedom of residence and conscience, and declared that no man's house could be officially entered without a legal warrant. The Law of the Houses, promulgated simultaneously, created a bicameral Diet—a house of Peers and a House of Representatives—to be convened every year, and in this Diet was vested legislative power without recourse to which no law could be enacted or altered, and financial authority without the exercise of which the Annual Budget could not become existent. The law of Election, which also formed one of the appended statutes of the Constitution, provided for all affairs relating to the franchise and its exercise; the Law of Finance regulated fiscal matters; and the Imperial House Law determined affairs connected with the succession, the Household, the Princes of the Blood, and so forth. The day of the promulgation of the Constitution was observed as a grand national fête, amnesty was proclaimed in the case of all political offenders, and largess was freely distributed to the aged and indigent. It was certainly a subject for national rejoicing and congratulation that this advanced stage of Governmental progress was reached in Japan

without any of the scenes of bloodshed and violence that had invariably disfigured such changes in other countries.

The establishment of a constitutional form of government having long been an object of ardent desire to the people, all classes, official and private alike, had been preparing themselves for the welcome event. In addition to the Liberal and Progressionist Parties mentioned above, Count Gotō Shōjirō had formed a third, the *Daidō Danketsu* (Great Affiliation), which, however, after a brief existence, split up into two or three insignificant bodies. Thus, when the first general elections took place in July, 1890, there were several rival political parties and much political ardour, but everything passed off in an orderly and quiet manner. In view of the assembly of the Diet, the Senate (*Genrō-in*) was abolished, most of the Senators being nominated members of the Upper House, the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of which were given to Counts Itō and Higashi-kuze, respectively. By Imperial Edict the two Houses were convoked in Tōkyō on November 25th of the same year, and the Lower House elected as its first president and Vice-President Messrs. Nakashima Nobuyuki and Tsuda Mamichi, respectively. His Majesty the Emperor opened the Diet in person on November 29th, 1890. The House of Representatives consists of 300 members elected by the people in the various localities; the House of Peers, of the Princes of the Blood, the Princes and Marquises, all of whom sit in their own right, a certain number of Counts, Viscounts, and Barons elected by their respective orders, highest tax-payers elected by the Prefectures, one for each, and a proportion of members nominated by the Sovereign in consideration of meritorious services or distinguished knowledge. Both Houses are

divided into Sections and have Standing Committees to discuss the Budget and other matters. The period of session is three months.

In 1892 a second general election took place, after a dissolution, and the new House of Representatives elected Messrs. Hoshi Tōru and Sone Arasuke as its President and Vice-President, respectively.

Constitutional Government was thus finally established in Japan.

## SECTION IV.

### *Domestic Disturbances.*

Subsequently to the war brought about by the overthrow of the Tokugawa Government, some disturbances arose owing to dissensions among the authors of the Restoration. The principal of these were the insurrections in Saga, Kumamoto, and Hagi, and the Kagoshima Rebellion.

### *The Saga Insurrection.*

In January, 1874, Etō Shimpei, a member of the Cabinet, being opposed by the majority of his colleagues with respect to the policy to be pursued towards Korea, retired from the Government, and gathered about him in Saga a number of fellow-thinkers, whose discontent was in part due to the fact that they too had lost, simultaneously with their leader, the official positions to which they had originally been elevated through his influence. There already existed in Saga a party confederated with the

objects of restoring feudalism and attacking Korea. This party united itself with Etō, and in February of the same year, the allies having plundered a sum of 200,000 *yen* from the Ono Company, raised the standard of revolt under Etō's leadership. The rebels made a successful raid upon the Prefectural offices of Saga, and the Garrison Corps of Kumamoto received orders to subdue them, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Minister of Home Affairs, being despatched by the Sovereign to direct the operations. The insurgents suffered several defeats, and were finally imprisoned in Saga Castle, but they managed to effect their escape thence under cover of darkness, and to cross the sea to Kagoshima, where they landed, with the intention of striking a second blow by the aid of Saigō Takamori. Failing in their purpose, however, they were unable to offer any further resistance. On the 13th of April, Etō and the other six ringleaders were beheaded and their heads exposed, eleven others also being put to death. Prior to the *denouement*, Prince Komatsu-no-Miya had been depatched by the Central Government, at the head of a considerable naval and military forth, to crush the rebellion, but he arrived after order had been restored.

### *Insurrections in Hagi and Kumamoto.*

In the Prefecture of Kumamoto there had existed, from the time of the Restoration, a party calling itself *Shimpū-ren*, whose members were wholly dissatisfied with the new order of things and entirely opposed to the introduction of Occidentalism. In October, 1876, about one hundred and seventy members, of this party made a sudden and desparate attack on the barracks of the Kumamoto Garrison Corps, set the buildings on fire, killed the Com-

mandant, and subsequently the Governor of the Prefecture, and proceeded to assault the Prefectural offices. On the following day, however, they were completely routed by the troops, whereupon their three ringleaders committed suicide and the rest were suitably punished.

Simultaneously with this *emeute*, another insurrection occurred at Hagi in the province of Nagato. This, too, had its origin in a difference of opinion between the statesmen of the time. Mayebara Issei, a *Samurai* of Yamaguchi Prefecture, had played an important part in the Restoration, and was afterwards appointed Vice-Minister of the War Department, his office carrying with it a seat in the Cabinet. Differing, subsequently, from the views held by his colleagues, he left the Government and retired to his native province. There he collected a band of fellow-thinkers, and so soon as the news of the Kumamoto Insurrection reached them, they made a fierce attack upon the Prefectural buildings. Being defeated by the Imperial troops, Mayebara tried to escape eastward by sea, but was intercepted, and he and his principal associates were put to death.

### *The Kagoshima Rebellion.*

Saigō Takamori, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, being opposed by the majority of his colleagues in the Cabinet with reference to the policy to be pursued towards Korea, retired to Kagoshima, and acting in concert with Kirino Toshiaki and Shinowara Kunimoto, both of whom held the rank of Major-General, established a private military school to which nearly all the youth of the province eagerly flocked. Many came from other Prefectures also,

for Saigō's reputation, as the chief agent in bringing about the Restoration, was immense, and his personality commanded universal love and respect. These students paid little attention to study and much to athletics. They prepared to seize the first favourable opportunity for revolt, and nothing interrupted their preparations, for Ōyama Tsunayoshi, Governor of the Prefecture, made no attempt to inquire into their doings. When the Hagi and Kumamoto Insurrections broke out, these truculent students maintained correspondence with the rebels, but refrained from openly imitating their example. By and by, some officials of the Imperial Government visited the province, and being seized by the students were tortured into a false confession that they had come with a secret commission to assassinate Saigō Takamori. The War Department, apprehending dangerous contingencies, now ordered that the powder stored in Kagoshima should be transferred to Ōsaka, but the powder was seized *en route* by the students, who also managed to possess themselves of the Arsenal and implements of War belonging to the Naval Department in Kagoshima, their operations being materially facilitated by the perfunctoriness of the Governor. Saigō earnestly endeavoured at first to restore order and discipline among these turbulent students, but he finally yielded to the persuasion of Kirino and others, who represented that on him devolved the patriotic duty of clearing away disloyal and crafty subjects from the foot of the Throne, and who showed him, at the same time, the false confession extorted by torture from Government officials. Saigō thereupon circulated a letter throughout the adjacent provinces, explaining the necessity of resorting to arms. News of these events reached the Emperor in Kyōto, whither he had gone to burn incense at the tomb of his father Emperor Kōmei.

His Majesty made that city his head-quarters, and gave to Prince Arisugawa-no-Miya a commission to quell the rebellion, Yamagata Aritomo, Minister of War, and Kawamura Sumiyoshi, Vice-Minister of the Navy, being appointed Chiefs of Staff to His Imperial Highness. The brigades despatched to the scene of disturbance were commanded by Major-Generals Nozu, Miyoshi, Miura and others, and Saigō Takamori and his fellow-conspirators were stripped of all their ranks and honours.

The Insurgents assembled in Kagoshima now numbered some twenty thousand picked *Samurai* of desperate courage and great skill in the use of their weapons. At the head of this force Saigō set out for Kumamoto on February 15th, 1876, and on the 22nd of that month he sat down with his whole army before Kumamoto Castle, an error of strategy which ultimately enabled the Government to confine the insurrection to Kiūshū. Major-General Tani Tateki, who held command of the garrison, made a stubborn resistance, though many of the *Samurai* among his troops went over to the rebels. The Imperial Army arriving in the province of Higo, endeavoured to reach Kumamoto from the north-west *viâ* Takase. Severe fighting took place, but the forces of the Government pushed steadily on. At point after point the rebels made stubborn stands, especially in the strong position of Tawara-saka, where a great number of lives were sacrificed, and the whole district was devastated. The Government troops, though victorious, found themselves much weakened, and the insurgents fought with undiminished desperation. Shortly before this, Yanagiwara Sakimitsu, a Senator, was sent by the Emperor to Kagoshima to warn Shimazu Hisamitsu the former feudal chief of Satsuma, and his son,

Tadayoshi, against connecting themselves with the insurgents. He was accompanied on this mission by Lieut.-General Kuroda Kiyotaka, an influential member of the Satsuma clan, and the two laboured so successfully that the Dockyard and Arsenal, which had been dismantled by the rebels, were restored to a defensible condition, and Ōyama Tsunayoshi, Governor of the Prefecture, who had so palpably neglected his duty, was placed under arrest. It now became possible to advance upon the rear of the rebels, and General Kuroda, being appointed Chief of the Staff, landed a body of troops at Yatsuhiro in order to attack Saigō from the south. The insurgents were now assaulted from two directions, but they fought so stubbornly that the Imperial Army could not yet effect the relief of Kumamoto Castle, which, having been beseiged for over fifty days, was beginning to be reduced to straits for want of provisions. The Commander of the Garrison now managed to send an officer through the beseiging army with intelligence of his perilous condition, and on receipt of the message, General Kuroda set all his troops in rapid motion, and forced his way to Kumamoto on the 14th of April, the insurgents breaking up into two bodies, one of which retreated into the province of Bungo and the other into the Hitoyoshi in Higo, where the country offered excellent facilities for resistance. Upon the retreat of the rebels from Kumamoto, Vice-Minister Kawamura Sumiyoshi was sent to Kagoshima, at the head of 8,000 men, to attack the rebellion at its root, whereupon Saigō, who was with the Hitoyoshi branch of the rebels, issued orders for a retreat in the directions of Kagoshima. Several battles and skirmishes ensued, in Higo and Hiuga. The Imperial forces were now concentrated about Kagoshima, and after a sanguinary engagement lasting ten days, the

rebels were driven to Shiroyama, where their last fight was fought on the 24th of September. Saigō Takamori committed suicide, and Kirino and the other rebel chiefs fell on the field of battle, the rebellion being thus finally crushed. A provisional court was organized in Kiūshū, under the presidency of Kōno Togama, a Secretary of the Senate, for the trial of those taken in the fighting, seventeen of whom were sentenced to death. In this sanguinary struggle, the whole of the Army and Navy had been engaged; the old Imperial Body Guard had been reorganized; a band of swordsman volunteers had been enrolled, and a company of policemen, also for sword service, had been sent to the scene of the fighting, for the great skill shown by the rebels in the use of the Japanese sword, and the deadly nature of that weapon, had rendered it necessary to employ a similar means of attack and defence on the Imperial side. To total number of men engaged on the Government side was 60,000, and the total outlay involved was about 42 million *yen*. At one time, indeed, the affairs had threatened to assume almost uncontrollable dimensions, for in the early days of the rebels' valiant fighting, ominous signs of disaffection made themselves apparent in the Prefectures of Yamaguchi, Kōchi, Fukuoka, and elsewhere. Much as the trouble cost, however, in blood and treasure, its national uses were very great. By it the Army and Navy gained invaluable experience, and all the institutions of the Central Government were subjected to the test of severe practice, while the people learned, once and for all that armed efforts to disturb the new order of things were utterly hopeless, and that adverse opinion must be limited to the channels of speech and pen. The Treasury, however, found itself seriously embarrassed. It had been obliged to borrow fifteen million *yen* from the fifteenth National Bank, and

also, most reluctantly, to issue fiduciary notes aggregating twenty seven million *yen* in addition to those already issued for the purpose of redeeming the first paper of the *Dajōkwan*, the *Jimbushō*, and the former feudal barons.

SECTION V.

## *Foreign Affairs.*

Although the policy of national isolation was definitely abandoned by the Imperial Government at the Restoration, hereditary antipathy to foreigners continued to be active in the breasts of many Japanese, leading to several outrages. Thus the retainers of Ikeda, Baron of Bizen, wounded an Englishman and fired a volley in the direction of the foreign settlement in Kōbe; *Samurai* of Tosa killed a number of French marines at Sakai; and two men attacked the retinue of the British Minister as he was *en route* for the Imperial Palace in Kyōto. The perpetrators of these acts were all duly punished by the Government.

In February, 1867, the French and Dutch Representatives were received in audience by the Sovereign in Kyōto, and the British Representative had the same honour a few days afterwards.

In July, 1870, war having broken out between France and Germany, Japan declared herself neutral, and sent to all her ports instructions against harbouring or succouring the ships of either belligerent, men-of-war being stationed at Yokohama, Hyōgo, Nagasaki, and Hakodate to provide against emergencies.

When the first treaties were concluded with five Foreign Powers, the Japanese plenipotentiaries being entirely ignorant of foreign affairs, entrusted the drafting of the articles to the American Minister, and merely endorsed the provisions proposed by him. A clause was added, however, providing for revision after the lapse of fourteen years, and when it was found that the Treaties contained much which was injurious to Japan's dignity and embarrassing to her independence, a strong desire to effect revision began to be generally felt. Moreover, in the sequel of the firing upon foreign ships by the forts at Shimonoseki, England and France, in addition to exacting an indemnity out of all proportion to the injury suffered by the ships, took advantage of Japan's internal dissensions to impose upon her greatly lowered tariff rates. At subsequent dates treaties were concluded, necessarily on the same lines, with Portugal, Prussia, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Austria-Hungary, and Hawaii, and Ministers Plenipotentiary were accredited to most of these countries. The knowledge thus gradually acquired of Western States and of the international usages prevailing among them, served to increase Japan's impatience against the conventional conditions to which she was herself compelled to submit. The Government, not less swayed by this sentiment, did everything in its power to remove obstacles which foreigners alleged to be fatal to equal international treatment of Japan. The penal laws were radically altered, and codes consistent with the principles of Western Jurisprudence were promulgated. Meanwhile, the term of fourteen years fixed by the Treaties had elapsed, and the time for revision having arrived, it was resolved to despatch an embassy to Europe and America, for the purpose of making known Japan's real condition and ac-

quiring knowledge of foreign affairs. In October, 1871, Iwakura Tomomi, Minister of the Right, was sent upon this mission, together with a number of other prominent officials. In the United States of America he met with a cordial reception, the president promising to favourably consider the question of revision, and Congress showing a disposition to return America's share of the indemnity unjustly exacted from Japan in connection with the Shimonoseki affair. (The indemnity was actually returned twelve years later.) In other countries, also, as England, Holland, Germany, Russia and Austria, the Ambassador was courteously received, but he failed to obtain any serious attention for the subject of Treaty Revision, and returned to Japan in 1873 entirely unsuccessful in that respect. During the years immediately subsequent to these events, domestic affairs engrossed the attention of the Government to the virtual exclusion of everything else, and it was not until after the termination (1877) of the Satsuma Rebellion, that the Government found itself in a position to approach Foreign Powers with the object of recovering tariff autonomy and reserving the coastwise trade. This effort proved quite abortive. In 1879, however, an agreement was concluded with the United States of America, that latter agreeing to a revised treaty by which Japan's tariff and judicial autonomy was to be restored and her coastwise trade reserved, with the proviso, however, that the revised treaty should not go into force until a similar treaty had been concluded with the other Powers. In 1880, Mr. Inouye Kaoru, Minister for Foreign Affairs, opened negotiations with the Plenipotentiaries of the European Powers in Tōkyō, but the proposed revision having been improperly disclosed to the public, the negotiations were suspended.

Renewed shortly afterwards, they were brought within apparent reach of conclusion in 1887, after long and weary discussions. But in the meanwhile public opinion in Japan had been growing more and more impatient of the treatment meted out to the empire by Foreign States, and more and more sensible of the rights appertaining to an independent country. On the other hand, the rivalry of Foreign Powers, the diversity of their interests, and the difficulty of dealing with them all together, had involved the introduction of many irksome and humiliating conditions into the draft of the revised treaty, and when it was published in 1887, it proved opposition that caused its abandonment, Count Inouye retiring from office. He was succeeded by Count Ōkuma Shigenobu, who re-opened the negotiations, but was enabled, owing to Japan's improved position *vis-à-vis* the outer world, to insist on conducting them independently with each Power, thus avoiding the insuperable difficulty of simultaneously placating seventween States all influenced by more or less divergent interests. A revised treaty, on lines more favourable to Japan than the former draft had been, was now concluded and signed by America and Germany. But no sooner were its provisions published than the nation again became excited, especially on account of an article providing that foreigners should be appointed to the Japanese Judiciary. The Cabinet decided to again suspend the negotiations, and a fanatic threw a bomb at Count Ōkuma which wounded him severely, necessitating the amputation of his right leg. Some time afterwards, he retired from office, together with the Minister President, Count Kuroda, and in 1889 Count Yamagata became Minister President, Viscount Aoki taking the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The latter, together with Count Gotō, Minister of Communications, and Count Saigō Tsugumichi,

Minister of Home Affairs, were appointed joint plenipotentiaries for the purposes of Treaty Revision. But in 1891, Count Yamagata and Viscount Aoki retired, the latter being succeeded by Viscount Enomoto, who, in 1892, gave place to Mr. Mutsu Munemitsu. The problem of Treaty Revision remained, however, unsolved, and Foreign States still continue to withhold from Japan the Tariff and Judicial Autonomy justly belonging to her as an independent empire. The people cannot suffer this injustice any longer and are longing earnestly and unanimously for its redress.

Meanwhile, the intercourse with foreign nations had grown more and more intimate. Many princes, nobles, and celebrities came from the West to visit Japan, and many Japanese statesmen and students travelled or sojourned in Europe and America. No vestige remained of the old sentiment of national seclusion.

Although the intercourse between Japan and Western States was thus intimate, her friendship with neighbouring Asiatic countries sometimes suffered interruption. In the year 1866, owing to the misconduct of Chinese settlers, it became necessary to enact special regulations for their control and to restrict the limits of ther residence at the open ports. When the war between the Emperor and the Shōgun broke out, all the Foreign Powers declared and maintained neutrality except the Chinese, who secretly sold arms to the Tokugawa. Hence their access to non-treaty ports was strictly prohibited. They also contrived to kidnap and sell the children of indigent Japanese, and instructions were consequently issued to local governments to guard strictly against this outrage. In July, 1871, however, a treaty of friendship and amity was concluded between the two Empires.

In the winter of 1872, some inhabitants of Loochoo were cast away on the eastern coast of Formosa, and murdered by the natives, and in the following year some shipwrecked sailors from the province of Bitchū experienced the same fate. Soyeshima Taneomi was sent by the Government as Plenipotentiary to Peking to complain of these outrages against Japanese subjects, but the Chinese Government made no satisfactory reply and declined to aknowledge their responsibility for the acts of the natives of Formosa. The Japanese Government was thus compelled to take into its own hands the task of exacting reparation. In April, 1874, Lieutenant-General Saigō Tsugumichi was appointed to the command of a punitory expedition to Formosa. No serious opposition was encountered except at the hands of one tribe, which, however, was overcome after some fighting. On the eve of sending this expedition, Yanagiwara Sakimitsu was despatched by the Japanese Government as Ambassador to China, but as he found the Chinese much incensed about Japan's action and very anxious that her troops should at once leave Formosa, Ōkubo Toshimichi, a leading member of the Cabinet, was despatched as Plenipotentiary to Peking. Meeting only with procrastination and inconsistency on the part of the Chinese, he broke off the negotiations and announced his intention of returning to Japan. But at this stage the British Minister in Peking mediated between the two Empires, and the Chinese finally agreed to pay 100,000 Taels to the families of the murdered Japanese subjects and 400,000 Taels indemnity to Japan for the cost of the expedition, undertaking at the same time to prevent the recurrence of similar outrages in Formosa.

After the Formosan trouble, another complication arose

between Japan and China with regard to the islands of Loochoo. These islands had long been a dependency of Japan. In the middle of the 12th century, the Minamoto leader, Tametomo, driven to the province of Idzu, made his way thence to Loochoo and having quelled a civil war raging in the islands, placed his son Shunten on the throne. Afterwards, the Ashikaga Shōgun, Yoshinori, gave the islands to the Shimazu family as an adjunct of the Satsuma fief, but from the time of Hideyoshi's Korean expedition, Loochoo having neglected to discharge its duties as a dependency, the Satsuma chief sent a force to the islands in the 14th year of the *Keichō* era (1609 A.D.), took the king prisoner and conveyed him to Edo, whence he was soon after restored to his country. Shimazu then sent officials to superintend the affairs of Loochoo, and from that time forth the revenue of the islands was included in the yearly income of the Shimazu family. In 1873 A.D., Shō Tai, King of Loochoo, came to Japan and was formally invested with the title of feudal chief of Loochoo, a residence in Tōkyo being assigned to him at the same time. Shortly afterwards, the name of the year period and the Loochooan calender were changed for those in use in Japan, and the laws of the empire were declared operative in Loochoo. Finally in April, 1879, A.D., the feudal title of the ex-King of Loochoo was abolished and the islands were turned into the Prefecture of Okinawa. The Chinese Government thereupon advanced a claim that Loochoo had once been a tributary of the Middle Kingdom, and that it therefore belonged to China not less than to Japan. The weight of evidence was on Japan's side, however, and by the arbitration of General Grant, ex-President of the United States of America, who happened to be on a visit to the East at the time, the question was settled in Japan's favour.

During the Tokugawa Period, a treaty concluded between Japan and Russia, recognised Karafuto (Saghalien) to be a joint possession of the two empires, and in the year 1872 A.D., the Tokugawa Government sent an envoy to St. Petersburg, with a proposal that the 50th parallel of north latitude should be the boundary between the two countries. No final decision was arrived at, however, on that occasion, and it was resolved that each country should send an ambassador to Karafuto the following year to survey the island and determine the bounday. But owing to the domestic embarrassments that beset the Shōgun's Government at the time when this arrangement should have been carried out, the promised envoy was not sent from Japan. In 1866, there was talk of depatching an ambassador for the purpose, but nothing was done, and Russia, gradually pushing sourthwards, finally encroached even upon the region indisputably recognised as Japanese territory. The Government of the Shōgun was powerless at the time to offer any opposition, and shortly afterwards it had to surrender the administration to the Emperor. His Majesty's Minister now proposed, through the intermediary of the United States, that the parallel of 50° north latitude should be taken as the boundary, but the Russian Government rejected the proposal. Subsequently, Admiral Enomoto was sent as Japanese Representative to St. Petersburg, and after much discussion it was decided, by a convention concluded in 1875, that the whole of Saghalien should become Russian property, Japan receiving in exchange the Chishima Islands.

Turning now to Korean affairs, it has already been related that an envoy was sent from Japan at the time of the Restoration, but that Korea refused to receive him. Thereupon Saigō Takamori proposed that he himself should

proceed to the Peninsular Kingdom in the capacity of Ambassador, and that if Korea persisted in her unfriendly attitude, an armed force should be sent against her. But this proposal did not meet with the approval of the Cabinet. In 1875, Japan sent another envoy, but again Korea declined to open amicable relations. An event then occurred which nearly involved the two countries in war. A Japanese man-of-war, *en route* for China whither she was carrying a Japanese plenipotentiary, called at Chemulpo to obtain fuel and water in August, 1875, but her boats were fired on by the Koreans and two of her men were wounded. Insensed at this outrage, the crew of the vessel attacked and burned the Korean fortress. When the matter was reported in Tōkyō, the Government sent Lieut.-General Kuroda, a member of the Cabinet, and Mr. Inouye Kaoru to Korea, in the capacity of Ambassador and Vice-Ambassador, respectively. This mission met with success. Korea sent a letter of apology to Japan and declared her desire to contract friendly relations. Lieut.-General Kuroda accordingly concluded a treaty of commerce and amity, in which Korea's independence was recognised by Japan, and in May, 1876, Korea sent an envoy to Japan, opened the ports of Juensan and Ninsen, and agreed that each country should be represented at the Court of the other. Thenceforth, Korea began to make considerable progress in Western civilization. She improved her administrative organization, established a military training school where Japanese instructors were employed, and sent youths to Japan to be educated. These innovations proved very distasteful to many conservatives in Korea, especially to the Taiwon-kun, father of the King, who had always been on bad terms with the Bin family to which the Queen belonged and which was favourable to reform. Affairs

were precipitated by discontent among the soldiery with reference to the removal of a Minister, and being incited by the Taiwon-kun, the troops attacked the place in July, 1882, and killed many of the Bin family as well as several Japanese military officers. The same night, the Japanese Legation was attacked by a mob, and the Minister, Mr. Hanabusa Yoshimoto, had to force his way through the city, escorting the women and children of the Legation, and push on through the darkness to Ninsen, where he escaped by boat, and being picked up by an English man-of-war, the *Flying Fish*, returned to Nagasaki in her. He was speedily sent back by his Government in a vessel-of-war, and entering Söul, demanded an explanation from Korea. China, meanwhile, had despatched a squadron to the scene, seized the Taiwon-kun, and carried him prisoner to Tientsin. Mr. Hanabusa subsequently concluded with Korea a convention providing for the punishment of the malefactors, the payment of an indemnity of 50,000 *yen* to the sufferers and their families, and of 500,000 *yen* to the Japanese Empire, the guarding of the Japanese Legation by troops, and the despatch of an ambassador to apologise for the outrage. (Japan afterwards returned to Korea 400,000 *yen* of this indemnity.) China and Japan both stationed bodies of men in the Korean capital, and Korea divided her forces into two bodies, one of which was trained according to Japanese tactics, the other according to Chinese. There were then two parties in the peninsular kingdom, the Independents and the Conservatives, between whom a state of strained relations constantly existed. In December, 1884, they resorted to open hostilities, and the King, finding himself in danger, sent an autograph letter to the Japanese Legation, asking for help. The Japanese *Chargé d' Affaires* thereupon proceeded to

the Palace with a small body of men. There he was attacked by a combined force of Chinese and Koreans. During the fighting, the King's mother was seized by the Chinese soldiers, and the King having declared his intention of placing himself in the hands of the Chinese in order to be with her, the Japanese retired to their Legation, which was afterwards assaulted by a Korean mob and set on fire. The *Chargé d' Affaires* made his way to Ninsen and once more Japan was obliged to demand reparation from Korea. This time the task of effecting an arrangement was entrusted to Count Inouye Kaoru, who, proceeding to Korea as Ambassador, escorted by two men-of-war, concluded a treaty providing that Korea should send an envoy to Japan to tender apologies; that the Koreans who had injured Japanese persons and property should be duly punished, and that an indemnity of 110,000 *yen*, together with 20,000 *yen* for the re-building of the Legation should be paid. In March of the same year, Count Itō Hirobumi, a member of the Cabinet, accompanied by Lieut.-General Saigō, proceeded to China, and concluded with Viceroy Li at Tientsin a convention providing that China and Japan should withdraw their troops from Korea; that neither Power should thereafter send a force thither without giving previous notice to the other, and that the Chinese soldiers who had taken part in the attack on the Japanese in Söul should be punished. Friendly relations were thus established between Japan and China.

SECTION VI.

## *The Introduction of Western Civilization.*

The antipathy felt by the Japanese towards foreigners disappeared so soon as intercourse with the outer world was fully established after the Restoration, and was quickly replaced by a strong desire to study foreign sciences and adopt the better elements of foreign civilization. The first railway was built between Tōkyō and Yokohama in the early years of the *Meiji* era; a line of telegraph was laid between Tōkyō and Nagasaki; gas was introduced for lighting the streets of Tōkyō; and carriages drawn by the horses as well as *jinrikisha* or man-pulled cars, the invention of a citizen of Tōkyō, replaced the old-fashioned *kago*, the *jinrikisha* especially coming rapidly into general vogue. Changes of costume also were soon introduced, Western dress being substituted for Japanese on official occasions. The custom of kneeling at formal interviews was abolished. The *Samurai* were forbidden to carry the two swords which they had long considered the insignia of their class. The manner of dressing the hair was altered to Eurapean style. Name of opprobrium hitherto used to denote the lowest classes of the people, such as "*Eta*" and "*Hinin*" were abolished, and persons belonging to these classes were relieved from the disabilities under which they had previously laboured. Inter-marriages were permitted between all classes of the people. The Lunar Calendar, which had been in use for about a thousand years, was replaced by the Gregorian. Coins were struck after Western models, National banks were established. The systems of exchange and cheques were greatly improved. Post-offices with regular and frequent mail services took the place of the

couriers who had travelled only on fixed days at long intervals. The organization and equipment of the naval and military forces were changed according to Western principles. The style of architecture was greatly altered, edifices of brick and stone on Occidental lines and furnished in Occidenlal style being gradually erected for the use of colleges, schools, business firms, and as private residences. At a later date, companies were formed in many of the principal cities of the Empire to supply the citizens with electric light. New facilities of communication were furnished by telephones. The city of Tōkyō, the capital and commercial centre of the Empire, underwent many improvements. Its crooked, narrow streets, always inconvenient for traffic, dangerous in times of conflagration, and to be condemned from a sanitary point of view, became doubly objectionable under the altered circumstances of the town, and a committee for city improvement having been organized, a special tax was levied on the citizens; lands and houses which obstructed the scheme of improvement were gradually purchased by the Municipality; the width of the streets was largely increased; canals and bridges were re-built or repaired; parks, markets, abattoirs, and cemeteries were laid out, and altogether a programme was undertaken which when completed would radically change the aspect of the city. In such cities as Ōsaka, Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate the non-existence of aqueducts being severely felt, steps were taken, or are now in progress, to remedy this deficiency, In Tōkyō aqueducts had existed since the 17th century, but the methods of distributing the water being defective, a system of waterworks on Western lines is now in course of construction. In all these and in many other directions the influence of Western civilization has made itself sensibly felt.

During the early years of the *Meiji* era, any knowledge, however slight, of Western sciences and arts was regarded as a qualification for official employment. Students who had shown themselves intelligent were sent to Europe or America to inspect and report upon the conditions existing there, and as each of these travellers found something new to endorse and import, the mania for Occidental innovations received constant increments. To preserve or reserve old customs and fashions was regarded with contempt, and so far did the fancy run that some gravely entertained the project of abolishing the Japanese language and substituting English for it. By degrees, however, men's eyes began to be opened to the fact that while they were uprooting and abandoning much which had the sanction of tradition and the approval of long practice, they were planting in its stead institutions and customs not necessarily suitable to the Japanese and possibly injurious to any people. Out of this sense of rash denationalization and unpatriotic radicalism a strong reaction ultimately grew, and men's minds turned once more to the customs and cannons handed down from their ancestors. The reaction is now paramount, but the introduction of western civilization is, at the same time, never neglected.

## SECTION VII.

### *Industries and Manufactures.*

Owing to its long and narrow configulation the Empire of Japan stretches over many degrees of latitude, the north lying within the temperate zone and the south within the torrid. These climatic conditions, supplemented by great fertility of soil, are productive of very varied vegetation, and as the seas that lave the long coast-line teem with fish

and marine riches, the people have every encouragement to prosecute industries and engage in manufacture. The Government of the Restoration, sensible of these natural advantages, has spared no pains to encourage the people to utilize them. Waste lands have been reclaimed. The arts of mining and fishing have been improved. Several new manufacturing enterprises have been started or old ones modified. Machinery has been largely imported from Europe and America and the manner of using it diligently studied. Special attention has been directed to the northern island. In the Tokugawa days, everything relating to the government of Ezo was entrusted to the Matsumae family, and shortly before the Restoration some efforts were made by the Matsumae chief to develop the resources of the island. But these attempts were not attended with success. The *Meiji* Government established a special office, the Colonization Bureau, to open up the island, the name of which was changed to Hokkaidō, and its division into eleven provinces was effected. Arrangements were made for granting land to any one wishing to settle there. Considerable sums were spent upon building railways and roads and upon harbour improvement, and various industries were started under official auspices. Much remains still to be done, but from a comparatively barren region Hokkaidō has now become a rich source of national wealth. Other extensive tracts of land in the main island have been brought under cultivation or converted into grazing pastures, though great tracts believed to posses productive capacities still await some exercise of human industry.

The chief agricultural products are rice and wheat, besides which millet, sorghum, Indian corn, beans, buckwheat, potatoes, rape-seed, cotton, flax, Indigo, tobacco,

and sugar are abundantly grown. The latest returns of rice and wheat production are those for 1891 :—

| | AREA. *Cho.** | PRODUCE. *Koku.** |
|---|---|---|
| Rice | 2,757,132.1 | 38,123,548 |
| Wheat | 1,713,655.3 | 18,071,373 |

Another important staple of production is tea, which is grown chiefly in the Prefectures of Shizuoka and Miye and in the urban districts of Kyōto. The returns of production for 1891 are :—

| PLACE. | QUANTITY. *Kwan.** |
|---|---|
| Shizuoka | 1,573,377 |
| Miye | 629,572 |
| Kyōto | 391,762 |
| Total throughout the whole empire | 7,398,573 |

Silk is also a production of great value. Since the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, the demand of foreign markets has given an immense impetus to the sericultural industry. Every year it shows a large increase. The following table contains the figures for 1891 :—

| PLACE. | COCOONS. *Koku.** | RAW SILK. *Kin.** | SILK-WORM EGGS. *Cards.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nagano Prefecture | 268,889 | 1,337,659 | 1,216,675 |
| Gumma Prefecture | 191,461 | 1,265,652 | 223,756 |
| Fukushima Prefecture | 137,649 | 534,426 | 464,031 |
| Total for the whole country. | 1,499,222 | 6,899,000 | 2,792,542 |

* N. B.—A *cho* = $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, approximately; a *koku* = $5\frac{1}{3}$ bushels; a *kwan* = 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. av.; a *kin* = $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. av.

Tobacco is grown more or less throughout the whole empire, the prefectures most remarkable for its production being Kagoshima, Kumamoto, Okayama, Ibaraki, Kanagawa, and Fukushima. Sugar is the exclusive product of Nankaidō and Saikaidō. The Prefecture of Tokushima is famous for Indigo. Cotton is produced most largely in Kinai (five province surrounding Kyōto); vegetable wax in Fukuoka Prefecture, and the lacquer trees flourishes chiefly in Ibaraki and Ishikawa.

The fishing industry, one of the country's richest sources of wealth, is carried on along the coast and also in many rivers and lakes. Some of the fish are dried, some salted, and some used for manure. Oil of different kinds is also expressed from the fish. Crustaceans and sea-plants are numerous, as are sea-animals, whose skins, teeth, and bones are of great value. Spacious tracts along the coasts invite salt-manufacture, and large quantities of it are obtained along the coasts of the Inland Sea.

Mining, one of the oldest industries of the country, has undergone great improvements during the *Meiji* era, and the output of minerals is correspondingly increased. The principal gold mines are found in Sado, Rikuchū, Ōsumi, and Satsuma, and the pricipal silver mines at Ikuno in Tajima,, as well as at Ani and Innai in Ugo, Handa in Iwashiro, and several places in Rikuchū. As for copper, the Ashiwo mine in Shimotsuke is famous, and after it come Osarizawa in Rikuchū and mines in Iyo and Iwami. Mention may also be made of the iron sand of Izumo and Iwami, the iron ore of Aki, the petroleum of Tōtōmi and Echigo, the sulphur of Esan and Oshima (in Hokkaidō), and the coal mines of Miike in Chikugo, Takashima in

Hizen, Tagawa in Buzen, Horonai in Ishikari, and Iwanai in Shiribeshi.

Other branches of industry are successfully carried on and many manufactures have been started. *Saké* brewing has its centre in the vicinity of Kyōto and Ōsaka, and scarcely any province is without a flourishing brewery. For reeling silk, Tomioka in Kōtsuke took the lead in using machinery imported from the West, and its example was soon imitated elsewhere. Cotton spinning also flourishes, and numbers of spinning factories have sprung up of late years. Kyōto is famous for silk weaving and dying in general, but several other places enjoy a high reputation for silk farbrics of special kinds, as Hachiōji, Ashikaga, Gunnai, Yonezawa, Chichibu, Fukui, Ishikawa, and Fukushima. For cotton cloth the great places are Ōsaka, Saitama, Aichi, and Nara. Porcelain and faience are manufactured chiefly in Hizen, Gifu, Aichi, Kutani, Kyōto, Aizu, Sōma, and Kagoshima, at all of which places the materials employed being different, corresponding differences exist in the wares. Bronze utensils and works of art are abundantly manufactured in Kyōto, Tōkyō, and Toyama Prefecture; lacquer in the three Prefectures of Wakayama, Ishikawa, and Fukushima, and companies have been formed for the production of glass, bricks, and cement.

In the early years of the *Meiji* era, a bureau for the encouragement of industries was established in the Department of Home Affairs, and offices on a smaller scale for the same purpose were organized in each Prefecture and City. In the year 1877, an Industrial Exhibition was opened for the first time in Tōkyō, and the Government decided that a similar enterprise should be undertaken in every fourth year.

Minor exhibitions for special staples, as rice, tea, silk, wheat, marine products, porcelains, art manufactures, and so forth, have frequently been held in various localities. These competitive displays have doubtless contributed materially to the remarkable progress made by the country since the Restoration.

With the advance of commerce and industry facilities of communication and transportation have also been greatly extended. In the Tokugawa Epoch, barriers and guard-houses existed at the boundaries of fiefs and in other important positions, and it often happened that on account of strategical considerations rivers were not allowed to be bridged, to the great impediment of travel and transport. But after the Restoration all such barriers and guard-houses were finally removed; roads were repaired or built; bridges, tunnels, and canals were constructed, and every effort was made to facilitate intercourse. Postal and telegraph systems were established throughout the empire, and telephones came into use, while the work of railway building was undertaken with energy, some lines being constructed by the Government and some by private individuals, the important cities and districts being fully connected within a few years. With regard to marine transport, the facilities conferred by nature on an island empire with an exceptionally long coast-line and many excellent harbours, were rendered more or less nugatory under the feudal system by restrictions upon ship-building and by inter-fief isolation. Steps to alter this state of affairs were taken early in the *Meiji* era. A line of mail steamers was established between Yokohama and Nagasaki, and soon afterwards an important company, the *Mitsubishi*, started by private enterprise and subsequently aided by the Government, developed large proportions. A

second company, the *Kyōdō Unyu Kwaisha*, inaugurated under Government auspices, came intn existence at a later date, but was ultimately amalgamated with the *Mitsubishi* under the title of the *Nippon Yūsen Kwaisha*, whose ships ply between all the chief ports of the empire, extending their voyages outwards to Shanghai, Hongkong, Vladivostock, Siam, India, and Australia. Several minor companies also exist, their steamers carrying goods and passengers in most of the inland waters. Meanwhile, an extensive system of light-houses, buoys, and light-ships has been organized at considerable outlay, and steps have been taken to survey the coasts. Dockyards also have been constructed by State and private enterprise, and excellent facilities now exist for the building and repairing of ships.

## SECTION VIII.

### *Trade and Commerce.*

The provision of transport facilities, as described in the last Section, naturally gave a great impetus to commercial development. Tōkyō and Ōsaka are the centres of the empire's trade and industry. The former, being within a few miles of Yokohama, the chief depot of the country's foreign commerce, receives and distributes large quantities of foreign domestic productions and manufactures; and Ōsaka, being similarly situated with regard to Kōbe, the second centre of foreign trade, as well as in touch with most of the towns along the coast of the Inland Sea and in Nankaidō and Saikaidō, enjoys prosperity scarcely inferior to that of the Eastern Capital. Other important marts are Kyōto in Kinai; Nagoya and Shizuoka in Tōkaidō; Niigata, Kanazawa, and Tsuruga in Hokurikudō; Sendai and Fuku-

shima in Tōsandō: Matsuye, Okayama, and Hiroshima in Chūgoku; Kumamoto and Nagasaki in Saikaidō; Hakodate and Otaru in Hokkaidō.

The Tokugawa policy of interdicting all foreign trade except with China and the Netherlands, having been abandoned, and five ports—Yokohama, Kōbe, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodate—opened to the ships of the Treaty Powers, the advantages of commercial intercourse with the west soon came to be appreciated, and ultimately ten special ports of export were added to the above namely, Yokkaichi, Shimonoseki, Hakata, Moji, Kuchinotsu, Karatsu, Misumi, Fushiki, Otaru and Kushiro. Owing, however, to the briefness of the time during which foreign trade has been freely conducted and the inexperience of the people, there is as yet no Japanese shipping Company engaged in the transports of merchandise to foreign countries, except the *Nippon Yūsen Kwaisha*, referred to above. Japan's chief customers in her foreign trade are the United States of Ameaica, and next in order come Hongkong, France, England, and China. Japan purchases the greatest part of her imports from England and then from British India, China and the United States in that order. In 1882, exports began to exceed imports in value, but in 1890, under exceptional circumstances, imports exceeded exports by twenty-five million of *yen*.

The chief articles of export are raw silk and tea. Ever since the Restoration, the export of silk to Europe and America has increased steadily and appears to be capable of still further expansion. Thus the quantity exported in 1891 was 29⅓ millions of *yen* in value, whereas this figure rose in the following year to thirty-six and a quarter millions.

The processes of sericulture, the methods of inspection, and other matters relating to the trade, have undergone great improvement of late years. The value of the tea exported during 1891 was 7½ millions of *yen*, nearly the whole being taken by America. Other exports of importance are rice, wheat, tobacco, ginseng, dried mushrooms, dried fish, edible seaweed, and so forth.

In no branch of trade has the West shown itself a better customer of Japan than in art manufactures. The reputation of the country for such objects was established at a very early date of her renewed foreign intercourse, and has since been steadily enhanced by the exhibits sent to expositions in Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. Among articles of this class, the principal are porcelain, lacquer, bronzes, embroideries, cloisonné enamels, and carvings in wood and ivory. England, Hongkong, France, and America take the bulk of Japan's keramic wares, the export of which aggregates 1¼ million *yen* annually. Lacquer wares, of which foreign countries purchase more than ½ million *yen* worth annually, go chiefly to England, and in part to Germany, Hongkong, and France. Fans, paper of various kinds, and articles made of straw-braid are also abundantly exported. Iron, tin, lead, copper, and antimony are sold in considerable quantities, the yearly export of these, as well as of articles manufactured from them, aggregating 6¼ million *yen*. The reputation of Japanese objects of art in foreign countries has suffered somewhat owing to the export of specimens in the making of which cheapness was considered rather than excellence, but the error of such methods has been recognised and, for the most part, corrected.

Encouragement has been freely given to foreign trade

by the Imperial Government. In the early years of the *Meiji* era, public funds were freely advanced to merchant manufacturers in order that they might visit foreign countries, acquire a knowledge of the demands of the markets there, and study the industrial and tradal processes of the Occident. Official aid was also given to companies organized for the purpose of encouraging art industry and bringing its products to the notice of foreigners. Schools were at the same time established for giving instruction in commerce and industry; machinery was imported from abroad; and manufactories, as for example, spinning, match-making, carpet weaving, and so forth, were opened under official auspices, the policy of the Government being to lead the people into the routes of industrial enterprise until they should have acquired sufficient skill and experience to march alone. In 1885, the system of granting patents and registering trademarks was commenced, to receive considerable extension four years later. The present tendency of the Japanese nation seems to be distinctly industrial, and there can be very little doubt that development of manufacturing enterprise will proceed steadily and vigorously.

## SECTION IX.

### *Laws.*

Among the many changes and improvements effected in the *Meiji* era, the question of the country's laws did not fail to receive attention, Japan's statesmen fully recognising the vital importance of good legislation to a nation's well being. At an early period after the Restoration this problem was taken in hand, and the revision or compilation of various laws was undertaken with a view to eliminate or

alter such of their provisions as betrayed the severe spirit of military feudalism, to add such others as were required by the altered and altering state of the times, and to bring the whole into consonance with a principles of modern civilization. The work was approached with all care, and many years were devoted to its proper completion. In the first year of the *Meiji* era (1867), a Bureau of Criminal Laws was organized in the *Dajōkwan*, and by it the various laws and statutes of the Tokugawa Government were remodelled, the legislative task being commenced in the month of April of that year and temporarily concluded in the month of October. Three kinds of penalties were enacted, capital punishment, penal servitude and scourging, and each of these was divided into three classes. Thus the death penalty included decapitation with exposure of the head, simple decapitation, and hanging; penal servitude was for the three periods of seven years, five years, and three years, with hard labour for two years, a year and a half, or one year; and in scourging the numbers of blows were a hundred, fifty, or twenty. It was further ordained that the death penalty must be sanctioned by the Sovereign before being put into operation, and while the penalty of burning was altogether abolished, that of trying to a cross and killing with spears—a special penalty not included in the regular list—was restricted to parricides or persons who had killed their liege lords. These changes having been effected rapidly to meet the exigencies of the moment, were followed by maturer reforms. In August, 1868, the Criminal Law Bureau was abolished and a Legislative Department established. This Department immediately selected a number of legal experts, and directed them to undertake the work of revising and recasting the old codes of the empires, and the task having been prosecuted with the utmost dili-

gence, a new code, the *Shiritsu Kō-ryō*, was promulgated in December of the following year. It was supplemented by special provisions relating to penalties available in the cases of the *Shizoku*, *Kwazoku*, and officials, only, confinement in their own houses being enacted for the first, while to the two latter was secured the privilege of commuting penalties by money payments. Laws for regulating the nature of penal servitude and for improving prisons and their management were, at the same time, promulgated. In July, 1871, the Legislative Department was replaced by a Department of Justice, and another extensive work of legal revision was effected, the result being a Criminal Code called the *Kaitei-Ritsu-ryō*, in the compilation of which the laws and legal procedure of foreign nations were taken into account. The chief reforms effected by this code were the abolition of death on the cross; the substitution of penal servitude for life for decapitation with exposure of the head; simplification of nomenclature; certain restrictions of the privileges hitherto reserved to the military classes, and the limitation of the death penalty to cases of murder, incendiarism, and robbery with violence. It was further provided that reduction of the penalties might be made by judges in consideration of special circumstances. In 1873 a body of new civil laws was promulgated of a more or less complex character, among them being a statute providing for the employment of barristers and the general facilitation of legal procedure as to documents and evidence. In January, 1879, another most important reform was effected, namely, the abolition of examination by torture which had hitherto been used to extort confessions, the theory of criminal legislation in Japan having been that confession must necessarily precede condemnation. It was enacted that the evidence of witnesses, documents or circumstances, or the admission of accused

persons should alone be taken as bases, for determining guilt. Remarkable misapprehension has existed in foreign countries with regard to this feature of Japanese criminal procedure. Again and again it has been stated in European publications that torture to extort confession is a recognised practice in Japan, whereas, in point of fact, its cessation from the year 1879 was complete and final. In 1880, the regulations relating to barristers, as well as those relating to evidence, were revised and greatly improved.

These codes of law referred to above, having their origin in the principles that governed Chinese and Japanese jurisprudence from ancient times, were in many respects at palpable variance with the spirit of Japan's modern civilization. This fact had been fully recognized for some time, and the Department of Justice made all possible haste to prepare for an effort of thorough-going revision and recompilation, foreign experts of note being engaged and employed in cöoperation with Japanese, schools of law being established, men who showed aptitude in legal studies being sent abroad at public expense to perfect their training, and various other means being employed to concentrate the best available talent upon this vital work. After arduous labour and repeated revisions a new Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure were promulgated in July, 1880, to go into operation from the 1st of January, 1882. This Criminal Code is divided into four chapters, comprising 430 Articles. Together with the Code of Criminal Procedure, which comprises six chapters containing 480 Articles, it forms a body of law in unison with the most advanced principles and the most approved procedure of Western jurisprudence, all punishment not recognized as consonant with modern civilization being abolished, due

provision being made for adapting penalties to degrees of crime, the rights of suspects and of criminals being amply guarded, the privilege of appeal, fully guaranteed and the dictates of clemency followed to the limits of consistency with effective control.

Almost simultaneously with the commencement of the above work of compilation, the task of revising the Civil Law was undertaken in a not less thorough manner, and with similar provision of expert aid. The constitution, having been promulgated in 1889, was followed in 1890 by the promulgation of a Civil Code, a Commercial Code, and a Code of Civil Procedure, together with a Law of Organization of Law Courts. This last named Code, one feature of which was that it instituted the system of collegiates courts, went into operation a few months after the date of its operation. The time originally fixed for putting the other Codes into effect was, however, postponed by His Majesty in consideration of the wishes of the Diet, a majority in both Houses having declared the expediency of further revision before these extensive bodies of law should become operative. In view of the tradal and industrial needs of the time special expedition was employed in the revision of the Commercial Code, so that virtually the whole Code could be put into operation with the approval of the Diet from the 1st of June, 1893. Meanwhile, the revision of the Civil Code and Code of Civil Procedure is in progress, and, in accordance with the Diet's decision, such parts of these Codes as shall have been brought into a satisfactory form will take effect forthwith. The whole work is to be completed by the 1st of January, 1895. These Codes, like the Criminal Code and Code of Criminal procedure, are fully abreast of the requirements of the time, and thoroughly adapted to the

dictates of modern and Western civilization. Simultaneously with the progress of this legislatives work, prison reform was carried out on an extensive scale. The organization of jails, the treatment of prisoners, the system of forced labour, including the training of criminals in industrial pursuits, and all other matters falling within this sphere received a full share of legislative and administrative attention.

## SECTION X.

### *Learning and Religion.*

During the era of the Tokugawa Governmental provision for the education of the people was made in the *Shōheikō*, and the various feudal chiefs took steps of varying liberality for a similar purpose. As for the children of farmers, artisans, and merchants, they received instruction in private schools and in schools attached to the Buddhist temples. In the closing years of the *Bakufu* administration, a school, in the curriculum of which Western learning occupied a prominent place, was established under the name *Yōgaku-sho* (subsequently called the *Kaisei-jo*). A school of medicine was also organized, and these two formed the embryo of the present Imperial University. At the commencement of the *Meiji* era, the name *Shōheikō* was changed to *Daigaku Honkō* (main department of the University). Here Japanese and Chinese literature were taught. Subsequently the *Kaisei-jo* became the *Nankō*, and its curriculum was extended so as to include foreign languages. The School of Medicine now received the name *Daigaku Tōkō*, and arrangements were made for courses of instruction in foreign medicine. In the year 1870, the *Daigaku Honkō*

was closed and the educational scope of the *Nankō* was enlarged, a number of foreign instructors being added to its staff. The Government at the same time instructed the various clans to select and send so the capital for education in this college youths of aptitude and promise. The plan of sending students abroad for educational purposes was largely adopted, several of the Imperial Princes, as well as young *Samurai* from the clans and scholars of the *Nankō* being thus treated. In 1871, a Department of Education was established, and soon afterwards a new educational system was introduced, the country being divided into eight school-districts and attendance at school being declared compulsory for all children six years old and upwards. A separate college, the *Gwaikoku Gogakkō*, was now organized for the special purpose of teaching foreign languages, and normal schools were at the same time established in several localities. After some years' paractical experience of this system, modifications were deemed expedient and a new body of educational regulations was promulgated. Among the changes then introduced was included the amalgamation of the *Daigaku Tōkō* and the *Nankō*, which now became the Tōkyō University, the courses of study being also modified so as to include law, science, literature, and medicine. There was also in existence at that time a College of Engineering, under the control of the Department of Public Works. This, too, was subsequently absorbed into the Imperial University, which in 1890 received a further increment in the form of the Dendrological School which had hitherto been under the control of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce.

There are now nine kinds of educational institutions under the direct control of the Department of Education,

namely, the Imperial University, the Higher Normal School (male), the Higher Normal School (female), the Higher Middle Schools, the Higher Commercial School, the Tōkyō Technical School, the Tōkyō Fine Arts School, the Tōkyō Music School, and the Tōkyō Blind and Dumb School. The number of elementary schools throughout the Empire is 25,374, with an attendance of 3,153,813 children. Besides the institutions above enumerated, there are many other schools and colleges, both Government and private, and there are also museums and libraries to which the public have free access. Western learning has for several years been so popular in Japan that there are now few schools at which the English language is not taught, nor do French and German fail to attract a large number of students. The first newspaper published in Japan dates from the closing years of the Tokugawa Administration. In the 1st year of the *Meiji* era, an Official Gazette (*Dajō-kwan Nisshi*) appeared, and thereafter newpaper enterprise received a great impetus, the values of the Press being so fully recognized that there are now many hundreds of journals and periodicals circulating among all classes of the people.

One of the first acts of the Government of the Restoration was to encourage the Shintō creed, a policy naturally dictated by the relation in which this forms of faith had stood to the Imperial House from the earliest times. In pursuance of that purpose, the nobles were forbidden to become Buddhist priests, and a still more drastic measure was adopted at a later date when, simultaneously with the restoration of the fiefs to the Emperor, the Government resumed possession of the large estates hitherto attached the temples and constituting their chief source

of revenue. An Ecclesiastical Department (*Jingi-shō*) was also established, and the tendency of its administration, coupled with the above measures, had the effect of greatly promoting the cause of Shintoism, and impairing that of Buddhism. The Buddhist faith, however, had established itself too strongly in the hearts of the people to be fatally hurt by any official policy. There are at present ten different sects of Buddhism in Japan, with over 72,000 temples and vast numbers of believers whose zeal needs only an occasion to be vividly shown. The Shintō shrines aggregate more than 56,500.

With regard to the Christian religion, its strict interdiction by the Tokugawa Government has already been related, as well as the fact that this policy of prohibition was dictated by experience of the injury done to the cause of public order by the violently militant character of the faith and by apprehensions that its free propagandism might have far-reaching national effects. But when, in 1871, Iwakura Tomomi and the other prominent Japanese constituting his suite visited the Occident, it was strongly impressed on them by the United States of America, above all that nothing could be less conducive to the improvement of Japan's international relations than persistence in this exclusive attitude towards the creed of Christendom. In deference to these representations, the justice of which was appreciated by the Japanese Government, the prohibition against Christianity was removed and the fact intimated to the Foreign Representatives. The freedom of conscience thus inaugurated was finally confirmed in the year 1889 by the provisions of the Constitution.



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